Grimm Inv. J. Hall Sculp.

Lewis 14th Patronizing the Arts & Sciences.

THE

WORKS

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

WITH

NOTES, HISTORICAL, CRITICAL, AND EXPLANATORY.

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AND OTHERS.

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CHAP. CLXXXVII.

A general View of EUROPE, from the Peace of UTRECHT to the Year 1756.

I Muſt ſtill venture to call this long war a civil war. The duke of Savoy was in arms againſt his two daughters. The prince of Vaudemont, who ſided with the archduke Charles, was on the point of taking his own father priſoner in Lombardy, who eſpouſed the cauſe of Philip V. Spain was actually divided into factions; whole regiments of French proteſtants ſerved againſt their own country. Laſtly, it was on account of a ſucceſſion between relations, that the general war was begun; and it may be added that the queen of England excluded her own brother from the throne, who was protected by Lewis XIV. and was even obliged to ſet a price upon his head.

Human hopes and prudence were deceived in this war, as they almoſt always are. Charles VI. though twice proclaimed in Madrid, was driven out of Spain. Lewis XIV. when juſt ready to ſink, was raiſed again by the unforeſeen diviſions in England. The Spaniſh council, whoſe only motive for calling the duke of Anjou to the crown had been to prevent the monarchy from being ever diſmembered, ſaw ſeveral of its parts lopt off. Auſtria had Lombardy and Flanders, of which latter the houſe of Pruſſia had one ſmall part, the Dutch another, and the French had poſſeſſion of a fourth part. Thus the inheritance of the houſe of Bourbon was divided between four powers, while that which ſeemed to have the moſt right to it did not even poſſeſs a ſingle farm. The emperor was for ſome time in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Sardinia, which was of no uſe to him, and of the kingdom of Naples, that great fief of Rome, of which its owners are ſo frequently and eaſily diſpoſſeſſed. The duke of Savoy held Sicily for four years; but to no other purpoſe than to maintain againſt the pope that ſingular but antient privilege of being pope himſelf in that iſland; that is to ſay, abſolute maſter in matters of religion, doctrinal points excepted.

The vanity of politics appeared more obvious after the peace than even during the war. It will not admit of a doubt that queen Anne's miniſtry had an intention of ſecretly preparing the way for the reſtoration of James II*. The queen

* Certainly the Whigs taxed them with ſuch a deſign; though, with all their induſtry, they never could adduce one proof

queen herſelf began to liſten to the voice of nature in that of her miniſters, and deſigned to leave the ſucceſſion to her brother, whom ſhe had been compelled to proſcribe againſt her will: but death prevented all theſe deſigns. The houſe of Hanover, whom ſhe looked upon as foreigners, and did not love, ſucceeded her. Her miniſters were perſecuted; and the pretender's party having endeavoured to aſſert his right in 1715, was defeated *. And this rebellion, which, had the queen lived a little longer, would have been called a lawful revolution, was puniſhed by the blood of many ſhed upon the ſcaffold.

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proof to juſtify the charge. It is well known that at this period, the miniſtry was divided in itſelf, and that both Oxford and Bolingbroke took all the methods in their power to recommend themſelves to the elector of Hanover and the duke of Marlborough. The queen repeated again and again in parliament, her inviolable attachment to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, which both houſes voted to be out of danger. Oxford made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the Whig party, and took particular opportunities of aſſuring the elector of his attachment to the houſe of Hanover. Lord Bolingbroke propoſed a bill, denouncing the penalties of high treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhould liſt or be inliſted in the pretender's ſervice; the motion was approved, and the bill paſſed into a law. The ſame lord carried on a ſecret correſpondence with the duke of Marlborough; and it was from this quarter, that, after the acceſſion of George I. he received timely intimation, that a deſign was formed to bring him to the block. If we allow this miniſtry had any regard for their own ſafety, we cannot ſuppoſe they would harbour and ſeek to promote a deſign ſo repugnant to the inclinations of the people.

* At Preſton by general Willis, and on the ſame day at Dumblaine by the duke of Argyll.

Affairs took a very different turn in France after the death of Lewis XIV. It would have been too tedious, too difficult, and too hazardous, to aſſemble the ſtates of the kingdom in order to adjuſt the various pretenſions to the regency. The parliament of Paris had before conferred it upon two queens; at this time they beſtowed it upon the duke of Orleans. They had in paſt ages declared void the will of Lewis XIII. upon the preſent occaſion they, in like manner, ſet aſide that of Lewis XIV. Thus was Philip, duke of Orleans, grandſon of France, proclaimed abſolute maſter, by the ſame parliament which ſhortly after ſent him into baniſhment.

That it may the more fully appear what a blind fatality preſides over the affairs of this world, it is proper to obſerve, that the Ottoman empire, which might have fallen upon the empire of Germany, during the long war of 1701, waited till the concluſion of the general peace, in order to wage war with the Chriſtians. The Turks in 1715, with eaſe poſſeſſed themſelves of Peloponneſus, which the renowned Moroſini, ſurnamed Peloponneſiacus, had taken from them about the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century, and which had been ceded to the Venetians by the peace of Carlowitz. The emperor, who guarantied that peace, was under a neceſſity of declaring againſt the Turks. Prince Eugene, who had before defeated them at Zenta, paſſed the Danube, and near Peterwaradin engaged the grand vizir Ali, favourite of the ſultan Achmet III. over whom he gained a ſignal victory.

Though

Though particular facts do not properly enter into a general plan, I cannot avoid mentioning in this place the action of a Frenchman, famous for his extraordinary adventures. The count de Bonneval, who had quitted the ſervice of France on account of ſome diſguſt received from the miniſtry, being then major general under prince Eugene, was in that battle ſurrounded by a numerous body of janiſſaries; he was accompanied by no more than two hundred ſoldiers of his own regiment: he made a ſtand during a whole hour, and being at laſt ſtunned by the ſtroke of a lance, his ten remaining ſoldiers carried him to the victorious army. This very man, who had been proſcribed in France, came afterwards to Paris, and was there publicly married, and a few years after he aſſumed the turban at Conſtantinople, where he died inveſted with the dignity of baſhaw.

The grand vizir Ali was mortally wounded in this battle. The manners of the Turks were at that time rough and barbarous: this vizir cauſed a general of the emperor's *, who was his priſoner, to be butchered, juſt before he expired.

The year following, prince Eugene laid ſiege to Belgrade, the garriſon of which conſiſted of near fifteen thouſand men: he ſoon found himſelf beſieged by a numerous army of Turks, who advanced againſt his camp, and ſurrounded it with trenches: he was in a ſituation entirely ſimilar to that of Cæſar at Alexia, and like Cæſar he extricated himſelf from the difficulty: he routed the enemy, and took the town: his

* His name was Breuner.

whole army was upon the point of periſhing; but military diſcipline triumphed at once over both force and multitudes.

This prince was raiſed to the moſt exalted pitch of glory by the peace of Paſſarowitz, by which Belgrade and Temiſwar were ceded to the emperor; but the Venetians, upon whoſe account the war had been undertaken, were abandoned, and loſt all Greece irrecoverably.

The face of affairs underwent a change as conſiderable amongſt the princes of Chriſtendom. The good underſtanding and union that had ſubſiſted between France and Spain, been ſo much dreaded, and alarmed ſo many ſtates, was diſſolved as ſoon as Lewis XIV. had breathed his laſt. The duke of Orleans, regent of France, though irreproachable in his conduct to his ward, took meaſures as if he was to ſucceed to the crown. He entered into a cloſe alliance with England, reputed the natural enemy of France, and came to an open rupture with the branch of the houſe of Bourbon which reigned at Madrid; and Philip V. who had renounced the crown of France by the articles of peace, fomented, or rather lent his name to others to foment ſedition in France, by means of which he might procure the regency in a country where he could not hope to reign. Thus, after the death of Lewis XIV. there happened a revolution in the views, negociations, and policy, as well of thoſe of his own family, as of the other princes of Europe.

Cardinal Alberoni, prime miniſter of Spain, formed a deſign to make a general change in the affairs of Europe, and was upon the point of

of putting his project in execution. He had in a few years re-eſtabliſhed the finances and forces of the Spaniſh monarchy; he formed a deſign of re-uniting it to Sardinia, which at that time belonged to the emperor; and Sicily, which the dukes of Savoy had been poſſeſſed of ever ſince the peace of Utrecht. He propoſed changing the conſtitution of England, in order to prevent it from making any oppoſition to his enterprizes; and with the ſame view he was deſirous of kindling a civil war in France. He, at the ſame time, carried on negociations with the Ottoman Port, with the czar Peter the Great, and with Charles XII. He was very near engaging the Turks to renew the war againſt the emperor; and Charles XII. in conjunction with the czar, was himſelf to accompany the pretender to England, and replace him upon the throne of his anceſtors.

In the mean time the cardinal ſtirred up an inſurrection in Bretagne, and even then found means ſecretly to convey into the kingdom a body of troops diſguiſed like falconers, led by one Colincri, who had orders to join the revolted. The conſpiracy of the ducheſs of Maine, the cardinal de Polignac, and many more, was juſt going to break out: their deſign was to ſpirit away the duke of Orleans, to deprive him of the regency, and to confer it upon Philip V. king of Spain. Thus cardinal Alberoni, formerly a country curate in the neighbourhood of Parma, was in a fair way of becoming firſt miniſter of Spain and France, and governing all Europe.

An unforeſeen accident made all theſe vaſt projects vaniſh into air; the conſpiracy was

diſcovered at Paris by a common courtezan, and being once made public, to carry it into execution was impracticable. The king of Sweden, who was to have placed the pretender upon the throne of England, was killed in Norway. Notwithſtanding this, ſome of Alberoni's projects began to take effect, ſo many ſecret ſprings had he put in motion. The fleet which he had fitted out made a deſcent upon Sardinia in the year 1717, and in a few days made it ſubmit to the yoke of Spain; ſoon after, it reduced almoſt all Sicily, in the year 1718.

But Alberoni not having been able to prevent the Turks from concluding a peace with the emperor Charles VI. nor to ſtir up civil wars in France and England, ſaw the emperor, the regent, and George I. at once united againſt him. The duke of Orleans, aſſiſted by the Engliſh, made an attack upon Spain; ſo that Lewis XV's firſt war was againſt his uncle, whom Lewis XIV. had eſtabliſhed upon the throne, at the expence of ſo much blood. An Engliſh fleet defeated that of Spain not far from Meſſina*; ſo that all the enterprizes of cardinal Alberoni having miſcarried, this miniſter, who but ſix months before was looked upon as the greateſt ſtateſman the world had ever produced, paſſed ever after for a raſh and turbulent ſchemer.

The duke of Orleans refuſed to make peace with Philip V. except upon condition that he

* The Engliſh ſquadron was commanded by admiral Byng, who, on the eleventh day of Auguſt, took or deſtroyed the whole Spaniſh fleet, except three ſhips of the line and three frigates, which eſcaped under the conduct of rear-admiral Cammock, who was a native of Ireland.

would

would diſcard his miniſter; he was delivered by the king of Spain to the French troops, which conducted him to the frontiers of Italy. This very man being afterwards ſent as legate to Bologna, and having it no longer in his power to ruin kingdoms, employed his leiſure in an attempt to deſtroy the republic of San Marino. However, the reſult of all his great projects was an agreement to give up Sicily to the emperor Charles VI. and Sardinia to the dukes of Savoy, who have remained in poſſeſſion of it ever ſince, and who upon that account have reſumed the title of kings of Sardinia; but the houſe of Auſtria has ſince loſt Sicily.

CHAP. CLXXXVIII.

Continuation of the General View of EUROPE. Regency of the Duke of ORLEANS. LAW's Syſtem.

ALL the courts of Europe were aſtoniſhed to ſee, ſometime after, in 1724 and 1725, Philip V. and Charles VI. formerly irreconcileable enemies now united in bonds of the ſtricteſt friendſhip; and affairs deviated from their natural courſe to ſuch a degree, that the miniſtry of Madrid governed the court of Vienna during a whole year. That court, whoſe intention had conſtantly been to exclude the French branch which reigned over Spain, from all acceſs to Italy, ſo far loſt ſight of its firſt views as to admit a ſon of Philip V. and Elizabeth of Parma, his ſecond wife, into that very country

from which they formerly intended to exclude every Frenchman and every Spaniard. The emperor beſtowed upon this younger ſon of his competitor the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia, add the grand dutchy of Tuſcany. Though the ſucceſſion of theſe ſtates was not made public, Don Carlos was introduced with ſix thouſand Spaniards; and it coſt Spain only twenty thouſand piſtoles, which were paid at Vienna.

This imprudent ſtep of the emperor's council was by no means one of thoſe which are productive of happy conſequences; it coſt him very dear in the ſequel. Every circumſtance in this treaty was ſingular; two adverſe houſes united without truſting each other; the Engliſh, who had exerted their utmoſt effort to dethrone Philip V. and had deprived him of Minorca aud Gibraltar, were mediators in the treaty: it was ſigned by a Dutchman, named Ripperda who had been raiſed to the dignity of a duke, and was at that time very powerful in Spain; he was diſgraced after having ſigned it, and retired to end his life in the kingdom of Morocco, where he endeavoured to eſtabliſh a new religion.

In France, during this time, the regency of the duke of Orleans, which threatened to be the moſt tumultuous ever known, on account of the ſecret practices of his enemies, and the general confuſion of the finances, had been the moſt peaceable and the moſt happy imaginable. The habit of obedience, to which the French had been accuſtomed under Lewis XIV. was the ſecurity of the regent, and of pub-

public tranquility. The conſpiracy, which had been directed under-hand by cardinal * Alberoni, and ill managed in France, was defeated as ſoon as formed. The parliament which during the minority of Lewis XIV. had commenced a civil war, on account of twelve places of maſter of the requeſts, and which had ſuperſeded the wills of Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. with leſs ceremony than if they had been the wills of private perſons, ſcarcely had liberty to remonſtrate, when the numerary value of the coin was raiſed to above three times its ordinary ſtandard. His marching on foot from the great chamber to the Louvre, only drew upon him the raillery of the people. The moſt

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* Alberoni, by means of the prince of Cellamare, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Paris, intrigued with the malcontents of France; and a ſcheme was formed for ſeizing the regent, and ſecuring the perſon of the young king. The duke of Orleans received the firſt intimation of this plot from the king of Great Britain; but the particulars were diſcovered by accident. The prince de Cellamare intruſted his diſpatches to the abbé Portocarero, and to a ſon of the marquis de Montelione, who ſet out from Paris together in a poſt-chaiſe, and were overturned. The poſtilion, having on this occaſion, heard the abbé declare that he would not have loſt his portmanteau for an hundred thouſand piſtoles, informed the government of this circumſtance at his return to Paris. The Spaniards were immediately purſued, overtaken and ſeized at Poitiers, with the portmanteau, in which were found two letters, which made the regent acquainted with the particulars of the conſpiracy. The prince de Cellamare was forthwith conducted to the frontiers. The duke of Maybe, the marquis de Pompadour, and the cardinal de Polignac, with many other perſons of diſtinction, were committed to different priſons. The regent declared war againſt Spain; and an army of thirty-ſix thouſand men was ſent towards that kingdom, under the command of the duke of Berwick.

unjuſt edict that ever was publiſhed, the edict whereby all the inhabitants of the kingdom were forbid to keep by them any more than five hundred livres in ready money, did not occaſion the leaſt diſturbance. The general ſcarcity of ſpecie in the land; a whole people preſſing in crowds to aſk at an office a little money to ſupply their immediate occaſion; paper credit, with which France was quite overwhelmed; many citizens trod to death in the crowd, and their dead bodies carried to the royal palace; I ſay, all this put together, did not give riſe to the ſlighteſt inſurrection. In a word, the celebrated ſyſtem of Law, which ſeemed calculated to ruin both the regency and the ſtate, contributed to the ſupport of both, by conſequences which no body could foreſee.

The avarice which it occaſioned amongſt men of all conditions, from the loweſt of the vulgar to the magiſtrates, biſhops and princes of the blood, drew off the attention of every body from the public good, and from every political and ambitious view, by filling them with the dread of loſing, and the thirſt of gain. It was a great and extraordinary game of hazard, at which the citizens betted againſt each other. Earneſt gameſters never lay aſide their cards in order to diſturb the government. It happened by a ſort of deluſion, whoſe ſprings will for ever remain hidden from all but the moſt experienced and piercing eyes, that a ſyſtem altogether chimerical, gave riſe to a real commerce, and cauſed to flouriſh a-new the company of the Indies, which had before been eſtabliſhed by the celebrated Colbert, and ruined by the wars. In a word, though the fortunes

of

of many private perſons were deſtroyed, the nation, in general, in a ſhort time became more rich, and its trade more extenſive. This ſyſtem enlightened the minds of men in the ſame manner that civil wars whet their courage.

This was an epidemical diſeaſe, which ſoon ſpread from France to Holland and England: it is worthy the attention of poſterity; for it was not the political intereſt of two or three princes that thus turned whole nations topſy-turvy. The people of their own accord ran headlong into this folly, which enriched ſome families, and reduced many more to beggary. A Scotchman, named John Law, whom we call John Laſs, who had no other employment than that of a gameſter and calculator, was obliged to fly from Great Britain on account of a murder: he had a long time before digeſted the plan of a company, which was to pay the debts of a ſtate by bank-notes, and reimburſe itſelf with the profits. The ſyſtem was extremely complicated; but, under proper regulations, might have been made of great uſe. It was an imitation of the Engliſh bank and India company. He propoſed this eſtabliſhment to the duke of Savoy Victor Amadeus, ſince firſt king of Sardinia, who anſwered, that he was not rich enough to ruin himſelf.

He propoſed it likewiſe to the comptroller general Des Marets; but that was at the time of an unfortunate war, by which all credit was annihilated; and credit was the baſis of this ſyſtem.

In fine, he found the regency of the duke of Orleans a juncture every way favourable; a debt of two thouſand millions to pay, a peace

which

which left the government at leiſure, and a prince and people paſſionately fond of novelties.

He firſt of all eſtabliſhed a bank in his own name, in the year 1716. This ſoon became a general office of the receipts of the kingdom. To this was joined the company of the Miſſiſſippi; a company from which the public was perſuaded to hope for extraordinary advantages. The people being ſeduced by the allurements of hope, ran with the utmoſt eagerneſs to purchaſe the actions of this company and bank united. Wealth, which was before locked up by the diſtruſtful, now began to circulate with profuſion; the company's notes encreaſed this wealth two and even fourfold. In effect, France became extremely rich by the influence of credit. Luxury became known to men in every ſtation of life; and it paſſed to the neighbours of France, who had a ſhare in this commerce.

The bank was declared a royal bank in 1718. It undertook to manage the commerce of Senegal, and acquired the privilege of the old India company, founded by the celebrated Colbert, which had fallen ſince his time, and reſigned its commerce to the traders of St. Malo. In fine, it took upon itſelf the general farms of the whole kingdom. Thus was all the wealth of the whole kingdom in the hands of Law, and the finances themſelves depended upon a trading company.

As this company appeared to be eſtabliſhed upon ſuch great funds, its actions increaſed to more than twenty times their firſt value. The frequent variations in the price of theſe effects brought immenſe fortunes to obſcure perſons. Many in leſs than ſix months became more opulent

opulent than ſome ſovereigns. Law, dazzled by his own ſyſtem, and intoxicated by the public frenzy as well as his own, had made ſo many notes, that the imaginary value of actions amounted in 1719 to eighty times the money that could circulate in the kingdom. The government reimburſed all the tenants of the ſtate by paper.

The regent was unable to govern a machine ſo immenſe and complicated, whoſe rapid motion hurried him on, whether he would or not. The ancient financiers, and the wealthy bankers united, exhauſted the royal bank by making conſiderable draughts upon it. Every body tried to change their notes for caſh; but the diſproportion was enormous. Credit ſunk all of a ſudden; the regent ſtrove to revive it by edicts which entirely deſtroyed it. Nothing was then ſeen but paper; real miſery began to ſucceed ſo much imaginary wealth. At this juncture the place of comptroller-general was conferred upon Law, exactly at a time when it was impoſſible for him to acquit himſelf of the duties required by it; it was in 1720, an epocha rendered remarkable by the ſubverſion of all private fortunes, and of the revenues of the kingdom. He was ſeen ſoon after to become, by naturalization, a Frenchman of a Scotchman; a catholic of a proteſtant; of an adventurer, a lord poſſeſſed of one of the fineſt eſtates of the kingdom; and of a banker a miniſter of ſtate. The diſorder was r ſen t› its higheſt pitch. The parliament of Par s made all the oppoſition in its power to theſe nnova-tions, and was therefore baniſhed to P nto ſe. In fine, during the courſe of the ſame year,

Law,

Law, loaded with the public execration, was obliged to fly from the country which he had turned topſy-turvy by attempting to enrich it.

The regent is charged in libels publiſhed at that time with having ſeized all the ſpecie of the kingdom, that he might be in a condition to effect his ambitious deſigns; and it cannot be denied that he died ſeven millions in debt. Law was accuſed by the ſame authors of having ſent the current coin of France into foreign countries for his own emolument: he lived for ſome time at London, being ſupported by the generoſity of the marquis of Laſſay, and died at Venice in circumſtances juſt above indigence. Such revolutions are not the leaſt uſeful objects which hiſtory offer to our conſideration.

During this time the plague made terrible havock in Provence: the war with Spain ſtill continued: Bretagne was ripe for rebellion; conſpiracies had been formed againſt the regent; yet notwithſtanding all this he, with ſcarce any difficulty, ſucceeded in all he undertook, either at home or abroad. The kingdom was in a confuſion, which occaſioned univerſal dread; yet this was the reign of pleaſure and voluptuouſneſs.

After the ſyſtem of Law had failed, it was neceſſary to reform the ſtate; an eſtimation was made of the fortunes of all the citizens, a ſtep no leſs extraordinary than the ſyſtem itſelf: this was the greateſt and moſt difficult operation of exchequer ever made in any nation.

It was begun about the cloſe of the year 1721. It was contrived, digeſted, and conducted by four brothers, who till then never had any conſiderable ſhare in public affairs, and who

who by their genius and induſtry were worthy of being intruſted with the revenues of the ſtate. They erected a proper number of offices for maſters of requeſts and other judges; they formed a certain and ſimple method whereby to extricate affairs from the chaos wherein they were plunged; five hundred eleven thouſand and five citizens, moſt of them fathers of families, carried their fortunes in paper to this tribunal. All theſe innumerable debts were cleared for about ſixteen hundred and thirty-two numerary millions in ready caſh, for which the ſtate was accountable. Thus ended this extraordinary game of hazard, which an obſcure ſtranger had cauſed the whole nation to play. After the demoliſhing of this vaſt edifice of Law, ſo boldly conceived, and which cruſhed its own architect, there ſtill remained of its ruins an India company, which ſoon became the rival of thoſe of London and Amſterdam.

The infatuation for venturing money upon the actions of a company, which had turned the heads of the French, ſoon after intoxicated the Dutch and Engliſh. Thoſe who had examined the ſprings by which ſo many private perſons in France had ſuddenly raiſed immenſe fortunes upon the credulity and miſery of the public, introduced the ſame artifice and the ſame folly in Amſterdam, Rotterdam, and London: companies were eſtabliſhed, and an imaginary commerce ſet on foot. Amſterdam was ſoon undeceived, Rotterdam was for ſome time reduced almoſt to ruin. London was full of confuſion and tumult during the year 1720. This frenzy produced in France and England a prodigious num-

number of bankruptcies, frauds, public impoſitions, and all that depravity of manners which is the natural reſult of a boundleſs avarice.

CHAP. CLXXXIX.

Continuation of the general View of EUROPE, to the Year 1756.

AFTER the confuſion in the finances had ceaſed with the regency, the confuſion in ſtate-affairs ceaſed likewiſe when cardinal de Fleury was at the head of the miniſtry. If ever there was a happy man upon earth it was doubtleſs cardinal de Fleury. He was looked upon as the moſt amiable man, and the beſt companion in the world, till the age of 73, and, at a time when moſt men retire from public life, he undertook to hold the helm of government; he was conſidered as one of the wiſeſt of miniſters; he was conſtantly crowned with ſucceſs, from the year 1726 till the year 1742. Till near the age of ninety, he preſerved his faculties unimpaired, and was always capable of buſineſs.

When we reflect that out of a thouſand cotemporaries, there is ſeldom one that attains to that age, we cannot avoid acknowledging that the cardinal was a favourite of fortune; his gentleneſs and moderation were equally worthy of admiration. Every body has heard of the wealth and magnificence of the cardinal d'Amboiſe, who aſpired to the papal dignity, and of the arrogant ſimplicity of Ximenes, who raiſed armies at his own expence, and in the habit of a monk, boaſted that he led all the grandees of Spain

Spain with his cord: every body is acquainted with the royal magnificence of Richelieu, and the prodigious wealth accumulated by Mazarin. Modeſty was the only diſtinction that remained for Fleury; he was ſimple and frugal in every thing, and this character he conſtantly maintained. Elevation was wanting in his character; but this defect was connected with virtues, ſuch as mildneſs, evenneſs of temper, the love of order and peace: he proved that thoſe of a gentle and pacific character are born to govern others.

He left France to repair its loſſes, and to enrich itſelf by a vaſt commerce, without making any innovation, treating the ſtate as a robuſt and ſtrong body that may recover without aſſiſtance.

Political affairs inſenſibly reaſſumed their natural order. Happily for Europe, Robert Walpole, the Engliſh miniſter, was of a character equally pacific; and theſe two continued to preſerve this tranquillity almoſt through all Europe, which enjoyed this bleſſing from the time of the peace of Utrecht to the year 1733; this ſtate of tranquillity had been interrupted but once, and that was by the ſhort war of 1718. This was an happy period for all nations, which, cultivating the arts and commerce with emulation, forgot all their paſt calamities.

In theſe days two powers were formed which Europe had never heard of in any former age. The firſt was Ruſſia, which the czar Peter the Great had civilized when plunged in a ſtate of barbariſm. Before his time this power conſiſted entirely of immenſe deſerts and a people without laws, diſcipline, or knowledge, ſuch as the

Tartars

Tartars have been in all ages. The czar was ſo little known in France, that when a Ruſſian embaſſy was ſent to Lewis XIV. in 1678, the event was celebrated by a medal, as if it had been an embaſſy from Siam. This new government began to have conſiderable influence in the affairs of Europe, and to give laws to the North, after having reduced Sweden. The ſecond power eſtabliſhed by dint of art, and upon foundations leſs conſiderable, was Pruſſia. Its forces were preparing, but they did not diſplay themſelves for a time. The houſe of Auſtria remained in pretty nearly the ſame ſtate wherein it had been left by the peace of Utrecht. England preſerved her maritime power, and Holland began to loſe hers imperceptibly. This little ſtate, which owed its power, to the want of induſtry in other nations, began to decline, becauſe its neighbours of themſelves carried on the commerce of which it had formerly been maſter. Sweden was in a languiſhing condition; Denmark in a flouriſhing way. Spain and Portugal were ſupported by America. Italy, always weak, was divided into as many ſtates as at the beginning of the century, excepting Mantua, which was become part of the Auſtrian inheritance.

Savoy at that time furniſhed the world with an extraordinary ſight, and princes with a moſt inſtructive leſſon. The king of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, the ſame Victor Amadeus, who was ſometimes the ally, and ſometimes the enemy of France and Auſtria, and whoſe wavering conduct had paſſed for policy, being tired of bearing the burden of affairs, and weary of himſelf, abdicated through mere caprice, in 1730,

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at the age of ſixty-four, the crown which he had worn the firſt of his family; and, by a ſecond caprice, ſoon after repented of what he had done. The company of his miſtreſs, who was become his wife, devotion, and the tranquillity of retirement, could not ſatisfy a ſoul occupied during fifty years with the affairs of Europe.

This example is a ſtrong proof of human weakneſs, and fully ſhews how incapable man is of happineſs, either in private life, or when poſſeſſed of a throne. In this century four ſovereigns renounced their royalty, Chriſtina, Caſimir, Philip V. and Victor Amadeus. Philip V. reſumed the helm of government againſt his will. Caſimir relinquiſhed all thoughts of reigning. Chriſtina was often tempted to reaſcend the throne, by a diſguſt that ſhe had received at Rome. Amadeus alone was deſirous of regaining by force the throne which his reſtleſs temper had made him abdicate. Every body knows the conſequence of his attempt. His ſon Charles Emanuel would have acquired a glory far ſurpaſſing that of crowns, by reſtoring to his father that which he had received from him, if his father alone had required it, and if the juncture had admitted of his taking ſuch a ſtep; but an ambitious miſtreſs aſpired to be queen, and the council was obliged to obviate the ill conſequences, and ſeize upon the perſon of him who had once been their ſovereign. He afterwards died in confinement. Nothing can be more falſe and groundleſs than what has been aſſerted in the hiſtorical tracts of thoſe times, namely, that France propoſed ſending two thouſand men to take the part of the father againſt

againſt the ſon. Neither the abdication of that monarch, the attempt he made to recover his ſcepter, his impriſonment, or his death, were productive of any conſequence in the neighbouring nations.

Peace was every where eſtabliſhed from Ruſſia to Spain, when the death of Auguſtus II. again plunged Europe into thoſe diſſentions and calamities from which it is ſo ſeldom exempt.

King Staniſlaus, father-in-law to Lewis XV. already nominated king of Poland in the year 1704, was elected king in 1733 in the moſt legal and ſolemn manner imaginable. But the emperor Charles VI. cauſed the ſtates of Poland to proceed to another election, ſupported by his troops and thoſe of Ruſſia. The elector of Saxony, ſon to the laſt king of Poland, who had married a niece of Charles VI. was choſen in preference to his competitor. Thus the houſe of Auſtria, which had proved unable to keep Spain and the Weſt Indies, and which had not long before failed in eſtabliſhing a trading company at Oſtend, had influence enough to deprive the father-in-law of Lewis XV. of the crown of Poland. Upon this occaſion France ſaw a renewal of the diſappointment which had befallen prince Armand of Conti, who being ſolemnly elected, but deſtitute of money and troops, and more ſtrongly recommended than ſupported, loſt the kingdom which he had been invited to reign over.

King Staniſlaus repaired to Dantzick to maintain his election. The majority, by whom he had been elected, ſoon yielded to the ſmaller number which oppoſed him. This country, where the common people live in ſlavery, the nobles

nobles ſell their ſuffrages, where there is never in the public treaſury money ſufficient to ſupply the troops, where the laws have no force, and liberty ſerves only to produce factions; this country, I ſay, vainly boaſted of a warlike nobility, which furniſhed a body of one hundred thouſand horſe. Ten thouſand Ruſſians * inſtantly put to flight all thoſe who had aſſembled in favour of Staniſlaus. The Polanders, who but a century before looked down with contempt upon the Ruſſians, were now intimidated and led by them. The empire of Ruſſia was become formidable ſince Peter the Great had introduced the knowledge of arts and arms. Ten thouſand well diſciplined Ruſſian ſlaves diſperſed the whole nobility of Poland; and king Staniſlaus, ſhut up in Dantzick, was quickly beſieged there by an army of Ruſſians.

The emperor of Germany, being united with Ruſſia, was confident of ſucceſs. To counterbalance theſe powers France ſhould have ſent a conſiderable force by ſea: but England certainly would not have looked on while theſe preparations were making, without declaring itſelf. Cardinal de Fleury, who was willing to keep fair with England, did not care to incur the ſhame of utterly abandoning king Staniſlaus, nor to venture a conſiderable body of men in his aid. He ſent upon this expedition a ſquadron with one thouſand five hundred men, under the command of a brigadier. The officer never looked upon his commiſſion as ſerious: he ap-

* The Ruſſian general Laſci entered Poland at the head of fifty thouſand men; and was joined by ten thouſand Poles, who declared for Auguſtus.

prehended, when he was near Dantzick, that to engage the enemy would be ſacrificing his men to no purpoſe: he therefore put in at one of the ports of Denmark. The count de Plelo, ambaſſador of France at the court of Denmark, ſaw with indignation this retreat, which appeared to him ignominious. He was a young man, who, to the ſtudy of literature and philoſophy, united heroic ſentiments worthy of a better fate. He reſolved with this handful of men to ſuccour Dantzick againſt an army, or periſh in the attempt. Before he embarked he wrote a letter to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, which ended with theſe words; "I am ſure I ſhall never return; I therefore recommend to you my wife and children." He arrived in the road of Dantzick, landed, and attacked the Ruſſian army; he fell in the action, covered with wounds from head to foot, as he himſelf had foreſeen. His letter and the news of his death arrived at the ſame time. Dantzick was taken, the ambaſſador ſent from France to the king of Poland was made a priſoner of war, notwithſtanding the privileges annexed to his character. King Staniſlaus eſcaped with difficulty, amidſt a thouſand dangers; and, by the aſſiſtance of a diſguiſe, after having a price ſet on his head by the general of the Muſcovites, in a free ſtate, in his own country, and in the midſt of the very nation by which he had been duly elected king.

With regard to the 1500 French, who had been ſo unadviſedly ſent againſt a whole army of Ruſſians, they made an honourable capitulation: but a Ruſſian veſſel being at that time taken by a ſhip belonging to the king of France, the 1500

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men were carried to Peterſburg, and there detained priſoners: they might reaſonably expect to be treated with inhumanity by a people who were looked upon as barbarous at the beginning of the century. The empreſs Anne reigned at that time; ſhe cauſed the officers to be treated like ambaſſadors, and cloaths and refreſhments to be given to the ſoldiers. Such an inſtance of generoſity, unheard of till then, was a conſequence of the great improvements made by the czar Peter at the court of Ruſſia, and a ſort of noble revenge taken for the diſadvantageous ideas ſtill conceived of it, through the influence of old national prejudices. The French miniſtry would have totally loſt the reputation neceſſary for the ſupport of greatneſs, if they had not revenged the outrage juſt received in Poland; but this vengeance would have been of no conſequence, if it did not promote ſome uſeful purpoſe. The diſtance of place did not allow of falling upon the Muſcovites; and policy required that the emperor ſhould feel the whole weight of this revenge. It was executed with great ſeverity both in Germany and Italy. France entered into an alliance with Spain and Sardinia. Theſe three powers had their reſpective intereſts, but they all concurred in one view, namely, in weakening the houſe of Auſtria.

The dukes of Savoy had been a long time gradually encreaſing their dominions, by ſometimes aſſiſting the emperors, and ſometimes declaring againſt them. The king of Sardinia, Charles Emanuel, hoped to procure the dutchy of Milan; and it had been promiſed him both by the miniſters of Verſailles and Madrid.

Philip V. king of Spain, or rather queen Elizabeth of Parma, his conſort, hoped for more conſiderable eſtabliſhments for the royal offspring than Parma and Placentia. The king of France had nothing in view but to encreaſe his own glory, to pull down his enemies, and to promote the intereſt of his allies.

No body at that time foreſaw that Lorraine was to be an acquiſition of that war. Men rarely direct events; they are almoſt always directed by them. Never was negociation more ſpeedily concluded than that which united theſe three monarchs.

England and Holland, which had for a long time been accuſtomed to declare themſelves for Auſtria, againſt France, abandoned her upon this occaſion. This was owing to that reputation for equity and moderation which the court of France had acquired, during the adminiſtration of cardinal de Fleury. The idea of its pacific and diſintereſted views bound the hands of its natural enemies, even during a war; and nothing could be more honourable to the miniſtry than their having made thoſe powers ſenſible that France might carry on a war with the emperor, without endangering the liberty of Europe. All the potentates ſtood by unconcerned ſpectators of its rapid ſucceſſes. A French army was in poſſeſſion of the banks of the Rhine; and the united forces of France, Spain, and Savoy, were in poſſeſſion of Italy. The marſhal de Villars ended his glorious career at the age of eighty-two, after having taken Milan. His ſucceſſor, the marſhal de Coigni, gained two battles; whilſt the duke of Montemar, the Spaniſh general, was victorious in the kingdom of Naples

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at Bitonto, from which he derived a ſirname. This is an honour frequently conferred by the court of Spain, in imitation of the ancient Roman cuſtom. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged hereditary prince of Tuſcany, became, ſoon after, king of Naples and Sicily. Thus did the emperor Charles VI. loſe almoſt all Italy by giving a king to Poland; and a ſon of the king of Spain obtained, in two campaigns, the two Sicilies, which had ſo often been taken and retaken before, and were conſtant objects of the attention of the houſe of Auſtria for above two centuries. This Italian war is the only one that has been productive of any ſolid advantage to France, ſince the time of Charlemagne. This was owing to their being aſſiſted by the guardian of the Alps, who was become one of the moſt powerful princes in thoſe countries; to their being ſeconded by the beſt troops of Spain, and to their armies being abundantly ſupplied with proviſions and all things neceſſary.

The emperor then thought himſelf happy in receiving the terms of peace offered by victorious France. Cardinal de Fleury, the French miniſter, who had been prudent enough to prevent Holland and England from engaging in that war, had alſo wiſdom enough to bring it to a happy concluſion without their intervention.

By one of the articles of this peace, don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and Sicily. Europe was at this time accuſtomed to ſee ſtates given and exchanged. To Francis duke of Lorraine, ſon-in-law to the emperor, was aſſigned the inheritance of Medicis, which

had before been granted to don Carlos; and the laſt grand duke of Tuſcany being near his end, aſked if they would not give him a third heir, and what ſucceſſor the empire and France intended for him. Not that the grand dutchy of Tuſcany conſidered itſelf as depending upon the empire; but the emperor looked upon it us ſuch, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had always been claimed by the holy ſee, and for which the laſt duke of Parma had done homage to the pope: ſo much does law change in different periods! By this peace the dutchies of Parma and Placentia, which by the order of ſucceſſion belonged to don Carlos, ſon of Philip V. and of a princeſs of Parma, were given up to the emperor Charles VI. as his property.

The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, who claimed the whole dutchy of Milan, to which his family, that had aggrandiſed itſelf by degrees, had long ſince formed pretenſions, obtained only a ſmall part of it, namely, the diſtricts belonging to Novara and Tortona, and the fiefs of Langhes. He derived his claim to the dutchy of Milan from a daughter of Philip II. king of Spain, from whom he was deſcended. France had likewiſe pretenſions of an ancient date, from Lewis XII. the natural heir to that dutchy. Philip V. founded his pretenſions on the ſettlements renewed to four kings of Spain, his predeceſſors. But all theſe pretenſions yielded to convenience and the general good. The emperor retained the dutchy of Milan: it is not a fief of which he is always to give the inveſtiture: it was originally the kingdom of Lombardy annexed to the empire, which afterwards became a fief under the Viſcontis

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and the Sforzas; and at preſent it is a ſtate belonging to the emperor; a diſmembered ſtate, it is true, but one that, with Tuſcany and Mantua, renders the houſe of Auſtria very powerful in Italy.

By this treaty king Staniſlaus renounced the kingdom which he had twice obtained, and which his allies were unable to ſecure to him; he however ſtill retained the title of king. But he was to be further indemnified, and that more upon the account of France than of himſelf. The cardinal de Fleury was at firſt ſatisfied with the diſtrict of Bar, which the duke of Lorraine was to give to king Staniſlaus, with a reverſion to the crown of France; and Lorraine was not to be ceded, till its duke ſhould be in full poſſeſſion of Tuſcany. This was making the ceſſion of Lorraine depend greatly upon chance. It was making but very little uſe of the greateſt ſucceſſes and the moſt favourable conjunctures imaginable. Cardinal de Fleury was encouraged to avail himſelf of his advantages: he demanded Lorraine upon the ſame conditions with the diſtrict of Bar, and obtained it.

It coſt him only a little ready money, and a penſion of three millions five hundred thouſand livres, granted to duke Francis till he ſhould be poſſeſſed of Tuſcany.

Thus was Lorraine irrevocably reunited to the crown; a reunion ſo many times attempted without ſucceſs. By theſe means a king of Poland was tranſplanted to Lorraine; and that province had for the laſt time a ſovereign who reſided in it, and rendered it happy. The reigning prince of the houſe of Lorraine became ſovereign of Tuſcany. The ſecond ſon of the

king of Spain was removed to Naples. The inſcription of Trajan's medal might have been applied upon this occaſion, *Regna aſſignata*, Thrones aſſigned.

CHAP. CXC.

Concerning the new Houſe of AUSTRIA, the War of 1741, and the Conqueſts of LEWIS XV.

THE houſe of Bourbon, at the cloſe of this ſhort war, found itſelf raiſed to a pitch of grandeur which it durſt not have preſumed to hope for, in the midſt of the moſt ſhining proſperity of Lewis XIV. Almoſt the whole inheritance of the family of Charles V. of Spain, the two Sicilies, Mexico, Peru, were in its poſſeſſion: and finally the houſe of Auſtria ended in the perſon of Charles VI. in 1740. What remained of his ſpoils was near being taken from his daughter, and divided amongſt ſeveral powers. France cauſed an emperor to be elected with as great facility as the emperors, in former ages, cauſed electors of Cologne, and biſhops of Liege to be choſen. The famous pragmatic ſanction of the laſt Auſtrian emperor, which ſecured to his daughter the ſole poſſeſſion of all his dnminions; a pragmatic ſanction guarantied by the empire, by England, by Holland, and even by France herſelf, was not, at firſt, ſupported by any power. The elector of Bavaria, ſon to him who was proſcribed by the

the empire, was without oppoſition crowned at Lintz duke of Auſtria, king of Bohemia at Prague, and emperor at Frankfort, by the aſſiſtance of Lewis XV's arms. The daughter of ſo many emperors was a whole year deſtitute of aſſiſtance, and without any hopes but in her own reſolution. Scarce had ſhe cloſed her dying father's eyes, when ſhe loſt Sileſia, which was invaded by a young king of Pruſſia, whoſe renown will extend to the moſt diſtant ages. He was the firſt to avail himſelf of the conjuncture, and rendered ſubſervient to his greatneſs an army diſciplined like thoſe of the old Romans, which his father had formed merely for ſhew and oſtentation. France, Pruſſia, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the remains of the houſe of Auſtria. They advanced even to the gates of Vienna; her allies obſerved a profound ſilence; there ſeemed to remain no room for a doubt that her ſtates would be divided. But it quickly appeared that there is no real greatneſs amongſt men, but that which is founded upon their own forces. The elector of Bavaria, emperor, with the appellation of Charles VII. a prince of great abilities, but deſtitute of two things indiſpenſibly neceſſary (treaſure and good troops) having allies who were frequently at variance, and being overwhelmed with diſeaſes, could not poſſibly ſucceed by his own power, and few have conquered potent ſtates by the hands of another. The greateſt advantages were ſoon ſucceeded by the moſt terrible calamities. All that ſhould have contributed to his greatneſs, facilitated his ruin, and all that threatened to overwhelm the queen of Hungary helped to raiſe her higher. The houſe of Auſtria roſe again

from its aſhes. The queen of Hungary found a powerful ally in George II. king of England; and afterwards her cauſe was eſpouſed by Sardinia, Holland,, and even the Ruſſian empire, which ſent, in the laſt year of the war, about thirty-five thouſand men to her aſſiſtance. She made ſeparate treaties with Pruſſia and Saxony: but ſhe found no leſs ſuccour in her magnanimity than in her allies. Hungary, which her anceſtors had found a conſtant ſource of civil wars, oppoſition, and puniſhments, became in her reign a kingdom united, well-affected, and peopled with her defenders. The ſeveral parties engaged in Germany, in Italy, in Flanders, upon the frontiers of France, upon the Indian and American Oceans, much in the ſame manner as in the war of 1701. The cardinal de Fleury, being too much advanced in years to ſupport ſo heavy a burthen, ſpent with regret the treaſures of France in a war undertaken againſt his will, and died, after having been a witneſs of many misfortunes cauſed by the groſſeſt errors of conduct. He could never conceive that the kingdom ſtood in need of a maritime force; the few remaining veſſels of France had been entirely deſtroyed by the Engliſh, and its provinces were expoſed to an invaſion. The emperor, who was indebted to France for his dignity, had been three times driven out of his own dominions. He died the moſt unhappy prince upon the face of the earth, and his lamentable fall was owing to his having been raiſed to the ſummit of human greatneſs. The queen of Hungary had the glory and ſatisfaction of cauſing her conſort to be elected em-

emperor, and of being the foundreſs of a new imperial family.

The French armies were deſtroyed in Bavaria and Bohemia, without ever comming to a deciſive battle; and ſuch was their deplorable condition, that a retreat, which they ſtood in need of, and which appeared to be impracticable, was looked upon as an extraordinary happineſs. The marſhal de Belleiſle preſerved the remainder of the French army, which was beſieged in Prague, and led a body of about thirteen thouſand men from Prague to Egra, by a round-about way, of thirty-eight leagues, through froſt and ſnow, and in the view of the enemy. In a word, the war was carried back from the heart of Auſtria to the Rhine.

The king of France having, in 1743, ſeen and lamented the death of cardinal de Fleury, governed by himſelf, and repaired the misfortunes which the laſt years of that adminiſtration had produced. His ſituation was much the ſame with that which his great grandfather had been in during the war of 1701. He was under a neceſſity of ſupporting France and Spain againſt the ſame enemies; that is to ſay, againſt Auſtria, England, Holland, and Sardinia.

Lewis XV. after the death of cardinal de Fleury, acted as Lewis XIV. did after that of cardinal Mazarin; he aſſumed the helm of government himſelf, and headed his own armies. Never was war more vigorous, nor ſucceſs more doubtful. The French army had been routed at Dettingen upon the Main, notwithſtanding its advantageous ſituation; but on the other hand the prince of Conti forced the paſſage of the Alps. The king met with ſcarce any re-

sistance in Flanders. He took Menin, Courtrai, and Ypres. In the midst of this progress he was informed that prince Charles of Lorraine, brother to the new emperor Francis I. had passed the Rhine and entered Alsatia. The king immediately marched the same way; and during that rapid march, he encreased the soldiers pay and quantity of provisions. Upon his arrival at Metz, he was seized with a violent disorder, and his life was despaired of. So universal a sadness had never been seen in France before, and no people ever discovered so strong an affection for their monarch. They assembled in the public places of every town: the priests, when they offered up prayers for the king's recovery, interrupted them by shedding floods of tears, and the people answered with sobs and cries. And when at length they were informed of his recovery, the excess of their joy was as immoderate as their grief had been before.

Scarce was his health established, scarce had the Austrians repassed the Rhine, when he flew to besiege Fribourg in Brisgau, and made himself master of the place. At this critical juncture marshal Saxe preserved the king's conquests with a small body of troops against a numerous army. Even then he began to acquire the reputation of the best general in Europe; and well deserved to be considered as such, since he commanded troops discouraged by their defeat, against the same army that, after having conquered at Dettingen, pursued the French forces as far as the Rhine. He invested Tournay in their presence. The Austrians, English, Hanoverians, and Dutch, were disposed to prevent the loss of that city by a battle.

Hereupon

Hereupon Lewis XV. without delay quitted Verſailles with his ſon; it was at that time the battle of Fontenoy was fought; it will be famous for many ages, it is the firſt victory that a king of France gained in perſon over the Engliſh ſince the time of St. Lewis.

Marſhal Saxe caſt intrenchments round his army on every ſide. But the duke of Cumberland, ſon of George II. king of England, forced theſe entrenchments with his Engliſh and Hanoverians; he put to flight almoſt all the brigades that oppoſed him, and victory declared for him during a whole hour. Marſhal Saxe, upon whom the welfare of France depended, was then dying of a diſeaſe, which afterwards brought him to the grave; he cauſed himſelf to be carried about in a chair made of oſier, in order to viſit the poſts; and the effort he made to mount his horſe during the action occaſioned apprehenſions that he would expire in a moment. The Engliſh column, always impenetrable, conſtantly gained ground. The marſhal ſent twice to intreat the king to retire; he even went ſo far, as twice to give poſitive orders for evacuating the important poſt of Antoin. The king did not think proper to retire, and the poſt was not evacuated. The preſence of the king, which rendered this battle ſo hazardous, was the only circumſtance that made it victorious. The advice given by the duke of Richlieu to bring up the cannon againſt the Engliſh column*, and the reviving courage of the

* This Engliſh column exiſted no where but in our author's imagination: the Britiſh infantry attacked in a line, and not in a column; and had they been properly ſuſtain d by

the troops, at length decided the event of this important day. From that time forward, the French gained an aſcendant over the Engliſh and the allies which they never after loſt. A few companies were ſurpriſed by a body of ſix thouſand Engliſh upon the cauſeway of Ghent, near an abbey called Mele*. They ſtood their ground reſolutely; in a ſhort time they were aſſiſted by others; they totally routed the whole body of the enemy; in this action forty Frenchmen forced three hundred Hanoverians to lay down their arms. Ghent was taken without reſiſtance. Oſtend, which had formerly held out three years, yielded in three days. Bruſſels was beſieged and taken in the depth of winter. The Turennes and the Condés never made more glorious campaigns.

Marſhal Saxe conſtrains the Auſtrians to repaſs the Mehaigne and the Maeſe: they ſuffer the prince of Clermont to take Namur. They appear a ſecond time at the gates of Liege; the marſhal marches towards them, and defeats them in a pitched battle†. All

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by the Dutch troops and the cavalry on the wings, the French army would in all likelihood have been defeated.

* The duke of Cumberland, apprehending the enemy had a deſign upon Ghent, detached a body of four or five thouſand men to reinforce the garriſon of that city. This detachment fell into an ambuſcade at a place called Par-du-Mêle, where they were attacked on a long march by a body of French troops, amounting to ten thouſand, and defeated, after a deſperate reſiſtance. That ſame night Ghent was ſurpriſed.

† At the village of Roucoux. The battle was fought on the firſt day of October. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who commanded the allies, was obliged to retreat towards Maeſtricht with the loſs of five thouſand men, and thirty pieces of artillery.

Dutch

Dutch Brabant falls into the hands of Lewis XV. The Dutch, alarmed at theſe ſucceſſes, chuſe a ſtadtholder, as the Romans created a dictator upon extraordinary emergencies; but with very different ſucceſs. The king, at the head of his army, under the conduct of marſhal Saxe, again beats the duke of Cumberland, at Laufelt *, near Maeſtricht. Bergenopzoom, which was thought to be impregnable, being ſecured by its ſituation, by a numerous garriſon, and by an army which encamped before its gates, was taken by ſtorm when the breach was ſcarce large enough to be entered. This is the only town that was taken ſword in hand, ſince Valenciennes was conquered by the muſqueteers and French guards in 1677. It was likewiſe the only one that was abandoned to pillage. The conquerors found in the port ſeventeen large barks laden with proviſions, with this direction in large characters upon each, "To the invincible garriſon of Bergenopzoom." This ſucceſs was due to the bravery of marſhal Lowendahl, a native of Denmark, who commanded at the ſiege. At that time two ſtrangers, marſhal Saxe and himſelf, ſupported the fortune of France in the Low Countries, and compenſated for the loſſes which were ſuſtained elſewhere.

* The loſs of this battle was alſo owing to the miſbehaviour of the Dutch troops. A body of their horſe poſted in the centre gave way, and flying at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were advancing from the body of reſerve. The French cavalry, taking advantage of this incident, charged them in their confuſion, with great impetuoſity, and penetrated through the lines of the allied army, which was thus divided about the centre.

Marſhal

Marſhal Saxe cloſed his campaigns, and rendered his glory complete, by the moſt ſkilful motion that had been ſeen for a long time. He intended to beſiege Maeſtricht, for which purpoſe it was neceſſary to deceive the enemy; he cauſed ſeveral detachments to file off, ſome to Luxembourg, others to Breda; one diviſion marches to Tongres, another to Tirlemont, and nobody knows where all theſe bodies are to unite. The enemy does not know what poſt to defend; they leave him maſter of the Maeſe. He inveſts Maeſtricht in the ſight of eighty thouſand men, who are unable to make any oppoſition. This was the laſt example he gave of his knowledge in the art of war; and theſe laſt ſucceſſes were preludes to a peace, which all parties equally ſtood in need of.

Marſhal Saxe was ſon to Auguſtus II. king of Poland, and the counteſs of Konigſmark. He ſerved in France from the age of ſeventeen. He was for a long time looked upon as a mere man of pleaſure, and people were not aware, that in the midſt of luxury and voluptuouſneſs, he ſtudied the art of war with the moſt arduous application; and was become a great man long before his talents were known.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXCI.

Of Prince CHARLES EDWARD.

GREAT BRITAIN had, in this war, been upon the point of undergoing a revolution ſimilar to that of the red and white roſes. Prince Charles Edward, whoſe grandfather, by the father's ſide was the unfortunate Britiſh monarch James II. and the great king of Poland, John Sobieſki, his grandfather, on the mother's ſide, made an attempt to reaſcend the throne of Great Britan, by one of thoſe extravagant enterprizes, of which we meet with no examples except amongſt the Engliſh, or in the fabulous ages of antiquity. He embarked, on the 12th of June 1745, in a ſmall frigate of eighteen guns, without having given the court of France any intimation of his deſign; and having, in order to effect the conqueſt of three kingdoms, only ſeven officers, eighteen hundred ſabres, twelve hundred fuzils, two thouſand lewis d'ors, which he had borrowed, and not a ſingle ſoldier.

After a paſſage wherein he was ſurrounded by dangers, he landed upon the ſouth-weſt coaſt of Scotland: a few inhabitants of Moydart, to whom he diſcovered himſelf, threw themſelves proſtrate before him, but exclaimed at the ſame time, What can we do? we have no arms; we are poor and deſtitute of all reſource; we live only upon bread made of oats, and we cultivate barren lands. The prince made anſwer: "I will cultivate this land with you; I will eat of this bread; I will ſhare your poverty; and I have brought you arms."

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The inhabitants, moved and encouraged by this, took up arms in his favour: they were immediately joined by the neighbouring tribes, which go by the name of clans. A piece of ſilk, which he had brought over, ſerved him as a royal ſtandard. As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf at the head of one thouſand five hundred men, he marched to Perth, made himſelf maſter of it, and there cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed regent of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, in the name of his father James III. This title of regent of France, which was aſſumed by a prince who was ſcarce maſter of an inconſiderable village in Scotland, and who had no hopes of ſucceſs but from the aſſiſtance of the French king, was a conſequence of the cuſtom adopted by the Engliſh kings, of aſſuming the title of the kings of France; a cuſtom which ſtill ſubſiſts, though it ſhould be aboliſhed.

After this ſome Scotch noblemen repaired to his ſtandard. He entered Edinburgh, and there cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged ſovereign. The king of England's council ſet a price upon his head: 30,000 pounds ſterling (about ſeven hundred thouſand livres) were offered to the perſon who ſhould give him up, dead or alive. To this menace he anſwered by gaining, with his one thouſand five hundred Highlanders, a complete victory at Preſton-pans, over an Engliſh army; and he took as many priſoners as he himſelf had ſoldiers. Theſe Highlanders are the only poople in Europe who preſerve the military habit of the ancient Romans, together with the buckler; with the habit they poſſeſſed the courage of thoſe Romans; they were deficient in nothing but diſcipline. The

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kings of Spain and France, upon this occaſion, ſent ſome pecuniary aſſiſtance to prince Edward. They wrote to him; they beſtowed upon him the title of brother; two or three hundred men, of the royal Scotch regiment*, were ſent to him from France, with ſome piquets, who landed, after having paſſed through the midſt of the Engliſh fleet.

The young prince ſubdued the whole country as far as Carliſle, and advanced within a hundred miles of London; he was then at the head of an army of about eight thouſand men. Another Engliſh general, not the ſame that had been defeated at Preſton-pans †, advanced towards Scotland. Prince Edward marched againſt him in the depth of winter, came up with him at Falkirk, upon the way to Edinburgh, gained a ſecond victory, and the next day a third over the ſame troops which he had beat the day before ‡.

This was the favourable time to complete the revolution; already a conſiderable part of London was, in ſecret, well affected to his cauſe §. That capital was full of broils and confuſion. The duke of Richlieu was upon the coaſts of France ready to bring ten thouſand men to his aſſiſtance; but as France was

* There was no ſuch regiment in France before the extinction of the rebellion in Scotland: the few troops that arrived as auxiliaries to the young pretender belonged to the Iriſh brigade.

† He was obliged to retreat to Scotland before the troops commanded by the duke of Cumberland.

‡ This third battle is altogether chimerical.

§ No ſymptoms of this appeared.

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at that time in want of men of war, the enterprize miſcarried, and the whole fruit of the efforts and victories of Edward was loſt. The duke of Cumberland, at the head of a well diſciplined army, well armed, and provided with artillery, at laſt defeated theſe Highlanders, who were deſtitute of every thing but courage. Prince Edward received a total overthrow at the battle of Culloden, not many miles from Inverneſs: his whole army was diſperſed; he went through much the ſame adventures which Charle II. had experienced after his defeat at Worceſter, wandering like him, without ſuccour, ſometimes in company with two friends, the partners of his diſtreſs, ſometimes with only one: ſometimes alone, walking from cavern to cavern, lying in the foreſts, taking refuge in deſert iſlands, being in want both of cloaths and food; and inceſſantly purſued by thoſe who were deſirous of getting the reward offered for taking him. Having one day walked about thirty miles on foot, being preſſed hard by hunger, and almoſt ready to faint, he ventured to enter the houſe of a perſon who he knew was not of his party. "The ſon of your ſovereign, ſaid he, comes to aſk of you food and raiment: I know you are my enemy, but I believe you a man of too much honour to abuſe the confidence I place in you: take the rags that cover me, and keep them; you may perhaps one day reſtore them to me, in the palace of the kings of Great Britain." The gentleman was moved with compaſſion, aſſiſted him as far as his ſituation would permit, and kept his ſecret.

Whilſt this prince, conſtantly purſued by his enemies, led a miſerable and concealed life in the

the deſerts, a circumſtance which adds a new luſtre to his glory, ſcaffolds and gibbets were erected in Scotland and England to puniſh his partizans: near eight hundred at different times ſuffered as traitors upon that account*.

They began on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt by the execution of ſeventeen officers, who were drawn upon a hurdle to the gallows, and after they were hanged the executioner tore out their hearts and ſtruck their cheeks with them; which being done, their bodies were cut in quarters. This puniſhment is a remnant of ancient barbariſm. In former times it was cuſtomary to tear out the hearts of condemned perſons, whilſt they were ſtill breathing.

This cuſtom has been preſerved in appearance, in order to ſtrike with terror the minds of the vulgar who are not eaſily intimidated. The lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Derwentwater, and Lovat, were beheaded. When Kilmarnock aſcended the ſcaffold, he, like one who had repented of what he had done, cried out, Long live king Georger. Belmerino cried out, Long live king James, and his worthy ſon. Derwentwater was a younger brother of another lord Derwentwater executed in 1715, for having fought unſucceſsfully in the very ſame cauſe: it was deſired by this elder brother, that his ſon, then a child, ſhould aſcend the ſcaffold with him: he ſaid to him, "My intention is to cover you with my blood, that you may learn to die for your kings."

* The number of thoſe that ſuffered death by law did not amount to one hundred.

It was the fate of thoſe who were ſprung from this family to die like heroes by the hands of an executioner. This Derwentwater had likewiſe a ſon who was born in France. "I die like my brother, ſaid he; I exhort my ſon to die in like manner, if there ſhould ever be occaſion for it; and I recommend him to the king of France." This recommendation was not ineffectual, Lewis XV. ſettled a penſion upon his ſon and his ſiſter.

Lord Lovat was executed in the eightieth year of his age. Before he received the blow, he repeated the following verſe of Horace:

Dulce et decorum eſt pro patriâ mori.

But there happened upon this occaſion a very extraordinary incident, one of ſuch a nature as could occur no where but in England. A young ſtudent named Painter, who was devoted to the Jacobite party *, poſſeſſed with that ſpirit of fanaticiſm which produces ſo many extraordinary events, intreated with the moſt earneſt and reiterated importunity to be executed in the place of lord Lovat.

Prince Edward, after having wandered a long time upon the coaſt of Lochaber, at laſt eſcaped the purſuits of his enemies. A ſmall veſſel conducted him to the coaſt of Bretagne: he went from thence to Paris, and there reſided till the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle was ſet on foot, by which the king of France was obliged to deprive him of that aſylum, for the general

* Painter, on the contrary, profeſſed the utmoſt abhorrence of the Jacobite party. His requeſt was the effect of madneſs.

good

good of Europe. This unhappy prince ſuffered in Paris more mortifications than he had undergone in Scotland after the battle of Culloden: he obſtinately perſiſted to ſtay, notwithſtanding the treaty, and though he was frequently urged to depart by the king. It was thought neceſſary to ſecure his perſon; he was accordingly carried priſoner to Vincennes, and then ſent out of the kingdom. This was the very height of the misfortunes of the unhappy race of Stewart. From that time foreward Charles-Edward hid himſelf from mankind.

Let private men, who think themſelves unhappy, reflect a few moments upon the misfortunes of this prince and his anceſtors.

CHAP. CXCII.

Admiral ANSON's Voyage round the World.

WHenever France or Spain happen to be at war with England, the ſhock given to Europe is felt at the extremities of the earth. If the induſtry and boldneſs of the modern nations of Europe give them an advantage over the reſt of the world, and over the antients in general, it is owing to their maritime expeditions. Men are not as much ſurpriſed as perhaps they ſhould be, when they ſee come out of the ports of a few inconſiderable provinces unknown to the civilized nations of antiquity, fleets of ſuch a conſtruction, that a ſingle veſſel of them would have utterly deſtroyed all the ſhipping of the antient Greeks

and Romans. On the one hand theſe fleets go beyond the Ganges, in order to engage each other in view of the moſt powerful empires, who ſtand by the unconcerned ſpectators of the dire effects of an art which they have not hitherto acquired: on the other, they go beyond America, to contend with each other for ſlaves in the new world.

The ſucceſs is rarely proportioned to the greatneſs of theſe enterprizes, not only becauſe it is impoſſible to ſee all the obſtacles which may ariſe, but becauſe adequate means are ſcarce ever made uſe of.

Admiral Anſon's expedition proves how much a man of ſenſe and reſolution may perform; though his preparations may be very unadequate to the danger of his undertaking.

Before ſo many nations had engaged in a war, in order to decide whether the daughter of the emperor Charles VI. ſhould ſucceed her father, there ſubſiſted a war between Spain and England about a ſhip*; that war coſt both parties a thouſand times more than the worth of what had given riſe to it.

The miniſtry of London, in the year 1739, ſent admiral Vernon to Mexico: he there deſtroyed Porto-bello, but he failed in his attempt upon Carthagena. It was intended at the ſame time that George Anſon ſhould fall upon Peru by the South-ſea, in order, if poſſible, to ruin, or at leaſt weaken the vaſt empire which Spain

* The cauſe of the war with Spain was a ſeries of depredations and outrages committed upon the Engliſh traders in the Weſt Indies. It was a cauſe upon which the liberty of the Britiſh commerce in a great meaſure depended.

had

had acquired in that part of the world, by both ends. Anſon was created commodore, that is, commander of a ſquadron; there were given to him five veſſels, a ſort of little frigate of eight guns, with about one hundred men on board, and two ſhips loaden with proviſions and merchandize; theſe two ſhips were intended to carry on commerce under the protection of the convoy; for it is peculiar to the Engliſh nation to mix traffic with warlike operations. Aboard the ſquadron were fourteen hundred ſeamen, amongſt whom there were no more than two hundred and ſixty ſuperannuated invalids, and two hundred recruits. He ſteers his courſe by the iſland of Madeira, which belongs to Portugal; he advances to the iſles of Cape Verde, and ſails by the coaſts of Brazil. His crew refreſhed themſelves in a little iſland named St. Catherine, which is covered with never-fading verdure, and abounds with fruit through every ſeaſon of the year: this iſland is twenty-ſeven degrees beyond the tropic of Cancer. The commodore, after having coaſted along the cold and uncultivated country of Patagonia, entered the ſtreights of Maire about the end of February 1741; thus did he paſs above a hundred degrees of latitude in leſs than five months. The little ſloop or frigate of eight guns, named the Trial, was the firſt veſſel of the kind that ventured to double Cape Horn: ſhe afterwards ſeized, in the South Sea, a Spaniſh ſhip of ſix hundred tons, the crew of which little expected to have been taken in the Pacific Ocean by a ſhip from England.

How-

However, upon doubling Cape Horn, after having paſſed the ſtreights Le Maire, Anſon's ſquadron was ſhattered and diſperſed by violent tempeſts. One half of the men aboard periſhed by an inveterate ſcurvy. The veſſel of the commodore being ſeparated from the reſt, put in at the deſert iſland of Fernandez, which lies higher up the South-Sea towards the tropic of Capricorn. A rational reader, who beholds with horror the prodigious efforts which mortals make, in order to render themſelves and their fellow creatures unhappy, will perhaps receive ſome ſatisfaction upon being informed that George Anſon, finding the climate of this iſland exceeding mild, and the ſoil equally fertile, ſowed in it pulſe and fruits, the ſeeds of which he brought with him from England, by which means it in a ſhort time became a plentiful country. Certain Spaniards, who touched there ſome time after, being, in the courſe of the war carried priſoners into England, formed an opinion, that Anſon alone was capable of repairing the ravages of war by ſuch an attention to the general good of mankind, and returned him thanks as their benefactor. Let me be allowed to ſoften by ſuch circumſtances as theſe, the melancholy tenour of a hiſtory which is almoſt one continued narrative of murders and calamities.

Anſon, whoſe veſſel carried ſixty guns, being joined by another of his ſhips of war, and by the little frigate called the Trial, took ſeveral conſiderable prizes in cruiſing near the iſland of Fernandez; but having ſoon after advanced towards the equator, he ventured to attack the

city

city of Paita, upon the ſame coaſt of America. He neither made uſe of his ſhips of war nor of his men, in executing this bold and hazardous attempt: the expedition was performed by fifty ſoldiers in a boat with oars: they landed during the night; the ſudden ſurprize, the confuſion, and the darkneſs, redoubled, multiplied, and encreaſed the danger. The governor, the garriſon, and the inhabitants fled on every ſide. In the mean time the fifty Engliſh, without moleſtation, carried off the treaſures which they found in the cuſtom-houſe and in private houſes, during the ſpace of three days. Some black ſlaves, a ſpecies of animals who always become the property of the firſt that ſeize them, not having fled, aſſiſted the Engliſh in carrying off the wealth of their former maſters. Anſon cauſed Paita to be burnt to aſhes, and then ſet ſail, having plundered the Spaniards with as much eaſe as they, in paſt ages, plundered the Americans. Spain loſt above fifteen hundred thouſand piaſtres by the fire: the Engliſh gained about one hundred and eighty thouſand, which, added to the former captures, greatly enriched the ſquadron*. The great number of men carried off by the ſcurvy left the bulk of the treaſure to the ſurvivors. This little ſquadron came afterwards oppoſite to Panama, upon the coaſt where pearls are dived for, and advanced to Acapulco, at the back of Mexico. The go-

* This exploit is greatly over-rated. The little town of Paita was very inconſiderable. It had been taken by the crew of a privateer in the reign of queen Anne. The value of all the effects plundered by Mr. Anſon's people did not exceed thirty thouſand pounds.

vernment of Madrid was not then aware of the riſk it ran of loſing that vaſt region of the world. If admiral Vernon, who beſieged Carthagena upon the oppoſite ſea, had ſucceeded, he might have aſſiſted commodore Anſon. Thus the iſthmus of Panama would have been taken by the Engliſh both upon the right and left, and the Spaniards deprived of the very centre of their American dominions.

Anſon, who had but two ſhips remaining, the reſt having been deſtroyed by tempeſts*, confined all his enterprizes and his ſanguine hopes to the taking of a large galleon, which Mexico ſends every year to the iſland of Manilla in the Chineſe ſeas. Manilla is one of the Philippine iſlands, ſo called becauſe they were diſcovered during the reign of Philip II.

This galleon, laden with ſilver, would not have ſet ſail if the Engliſh had been ſeen upon the coaſts, and it did not leave the port till a conſiderable time after their departure. The commodore therefore croſſed the Pacific Ocean, and all the climates between our tropic and the equator. Avarice, rendered honourable by fatigue and danger, made him traverſe the globe with his two remaining men of war. The ſcurvy continued to afflict the ſailors upon theſe ſeas; and, as one of the two veſſels leaked on every ſide, they were obliged to abandon and ſet fire to it, leſt the wreck ſhould be thrown upon ſome

* Two of his great ſhips never weathered Cape Horn, but returned to Europe, having firſt been refitted at Rio de Janiero in Braſil. One frigate of twenty guns was wrecked on a deſolate iſland in the South Sea; but none of them were deſtroyed by ſtorms.

of

of the Spaniſh iſlands, and become of uſe to the inhabitants: the ſoldiers and ſailors belonging to this veſſel, were taken on board Anſon's. At that time the only veſſel that was left of his whole ſquadron was his own ſhip, called the Centurion, which carried ſixty guns, and was accompanied by two tenders. The Centurion eſcaped alone from ſo many dangers, but in a very ſhattered condition, and having none but ſick men on board, very fortunately touched at one of the Marianne Iſlands called Tinian, which was at that time quite uninhabited. Not long before it contained no leſs than thirty thouſand ſouls, but the greateſt part of the inhabitants had been ſwept away by an epidemic diſeaſe, and the ſurvivors had been removed to another iſland by the Spaniards.

The crew owed its preſervation to the iſland of Tinian. That iſland, which ſurpaſſed Fernandes in fertility, abounded on all ſides with wood, ſprings, and rivulets, tame animals, fruits, pulſe, and every thing neceſſary for food, the conveniencies of life, and for refitting the veſſel. But the moſt extraordinary thing found there was a ſort of tree, the taſte of whoſe fruit reſembled that of the beſt bread; a real treaſure, which, if it could be tranſplanted to our climates, would be greatly preferable to thoſe riches which owe all their worth to opinion, and which men go in queſt of to the end of the earth, through ſo many dangers and difficulties.

From this iſland he went to that of Formoſa; he then bent his courſe towards China, to Macao, at the entrance of the river of Canton, in order to repair his only remaining veſſel.

The commodore having completely refitted his ſhip at Macao, by the aſſiſtance of the Chineſe, and having taken aboard ſome Indian ſailors, and ſome Hollanders, whom he thought to be uſeful men, put to ſea again.

At length, upon the ninth of June 1743, the ſo much wiſhed for Spaniſh ſhip was deſcried: it advanced towards Manilla, having but ſixty-four guns* ; the crew conſiſted of five hundred and fifty men fit for action; the treaſure which it carried amounted only to about fifteen hundred thouſand piaſtres in ſilver, with cochineal and other merchandize, becauſe the whole treaſure, which is generally double that ſum, had been divided into two equal parts, and one half was carried by another galleon.

The commodore had put two hundred and forty men on board the Centurion. The captain of the galleon perceiving the enemy, choſe rather to venture the treaſure than forfeit his reputation by flying before an Engliſhman; for which reaſon he hoiſted as much ſail as poſſible, in order to come up with, and engage him.

The eager deſire of ſeizing riches, a paſſion much ſtronger than the principle of duty, which directs to preſerve them for the ſovereign, the experience of the Engliſh, and the ſkilful operations of the commodore, procured him the victory. But two of his men were killed in the fight; the galleon loſt ſixty-ſeven, who were ſlain

* The Manilla ſhip, called the Neuſtra Senhora de Cabadonga, was mounted with forty guns; and the treaſure, with the other effects on board, amounted to three hundred and thirteen thouſand pounds ſterling.

upon

upon deck, and eighty-four were wounded. The number of his crew ſtill ſurpaſſed that of the commodore's: however, he thought proper to ſtrike. The conqueror returned to Canton with this rich prize. He there maintained the honour of his country, by refuſing to pay the impoſts exacted by the emperor of China from all foreign ſhips; he inſiſted that a man of war was not ſubject to them. His conduct overawed the Chineſe; the governor of Canton gave him an audience, to which he was conducted through two ranks of ſoldiers, whoſe number amounted to ten thouſand; after which he returned to his own country, by the Sunda Iſlands and the Cape of Good Hope. Having thus ſailed round the world victorious, he landed in England the 4th of June 1744, after a voyage of three years and a half.

He cauſed the riches he had taken to be carried to London in triumph, in thirty-two waggons, amidſt the acclamations of the people, with drums beating and trumpets ſounding. His different prizes amounted in gold and ſilver to ten millions, French money; theſe were the recompence of the commodore, his officers, his ſailors and ſoldiers, without the king's enjoying any ſhare of the fruit of their fatigues and their valour. The wealth quickly circulating in the nation, contributed to enable it to ſupport the immenſe charges of the war*.

* Far from anſwering this purpoſe in any conſiderable degree, the treaſure brought home by Mr. Anſon did not indemnify the nation for the expence of the armament; and the original deſign of this expedition was intirely defeated.

CHAP. CXCIII.

Concerning LEWISBOURG, or CAPE BRETON; and the numerous Prizes taken by the ENGLISH.

ANOTHER enterprize, undertaken ſometime after that of admiral Anſon, ſufficiently ſhews what a trading and warlike nation is capable of. What I at preſent have in view is the ſiege of Lewiſbourg; this operation was not ſet on foot by the Britiſh miniſters; it was the effect of the undaunted reſolution of the merchants of New-England. A common merchant, named Vaughan*, propoſed to his fellow-citizens of New-England to raiſe forces in order to beſiege Lewiſbourg. This thought was received with loud applauſe. A lottery was made, the profits of which were ſufficient to pay a little army of four thouſand men. They were armed; they were ſupplied with proviſions; they were furniſhed with tranſport-ſhips, and all at the expence of the inhabitants. They named a general; but they ſtood in need of the concurrence of the court of London; and ſtill more of a ſquadron of men of war. There was no time loſt, except what

* The plan of this conqueſt was originally layed by Mr. Auchmuty, judge advocate of the court of Admiralty in New England. A body of ſix thouſand men was formed under the conduct of Pepperel, a trader of Piſcataway. They were conducted by ten ſhips of war under Sir Peter Warren, reinforced by eight hundred marines, and directed in their operations by regular engineers. In a word, the place was reduced, and the people of New England were amply recompenſed by the government of their mother country.

was required to make application for it. The court ſent admiral Warren with four men of war to ſecond this enterprize of a whole people. Lewiſbourg was taken, after having made a vigorous reſiſtance, during fifty days. This is not all. A fatality equally remarkable farther enriched the new poſſeſſors of this iſland. French and Spaniſh veſſels, laden with gold and ſilver, came, ſome from the Mogul's country, others from Peru and Mexico, and anchored in that port, the taking of which they were ignorant of. They gave themſelves up of their own accord. If war is a game of hazard, as has been ſaid long ſince, the Engliſh won about a hundred millions at this game in the ſpace of one year. They had at one and the ſame time a fleet in the ſeas of Scotland and Ireland, one at Spithead, one at the Eaſt-Indies, one at Jamaica, one at Antigua, and they fitted out new ones whenever they ſaw occaſion.

France was obliged, during the whole courſe of this war, to make oppoſition to ſo formidable a power with about thirty-five veſſels, which were hardly fit for ſervice.

One of the greateſt advantages obtained by the Engliſh at ſea, was, in the naval engagement off Finiſterre*; an engagement in which they took ſix large veſſels belonging to the king, and ſeven Eaſt-India ſhips, fitted out as men of war, four of which ſurrendered in the fight, and three afterwards; theſe veſſels were, in all, manned with four thouſand men. London ſwarms with merchants and ſea-faring men,

* This engegement happened on the third of May, in the year 1746.

who are much more intereſted in maritime ſucceſſes than in all the tranſactions of Germany or Flanders. The citizens were ſeized with an inexpreſſible tranſport of joy, when they ſaw the Centurion, ſo famous for its voyage round the world, enter the Thames; it returned with the news of the victory gained at Cape Finiſterre by the ſame Anſon, raiſed by his merit to the place of vice admiral, and by admiral Warren. They ſaw twenty-two waggons arrive laden with the gold, ſilver, and effects, which were taken abord the French fleet. The loſs of theſe effects, and theſe veſſels, was rated at above twenty millions, French money. The money got by this prize was employed in coining new pieces, the inſcription of which was, Cape Finiſterre; a monument calculated as well to ſooth the pride as excite the courage of the nation, and a glorious imitation of the Roman cuſtom of engraving the principal events of the empire upon the current coin, as it were upon medals. This victory was rather happy and profitable than extraordinary. The admirals, Anſon and Warren, had, with ſeventeen ſhips of the line, engaged ſix of the king's ſhips, the beſt of which was, in its conſtruction, inferior to the moſt ordinary one of the Engliſh fleet.

What ſeems ſurpriſing is, that the marquis de la Jonquiere, commander of that ſquadron, had ſuſtained the combat for a long time, and given a company of merchantmen, which he had brought from Martinico, time to eſcape. The captain of a ſhip called the Windſor, expreſſed himſelf in the following terms concerning that engagement, in a letter which he wrote upon

upon the occaſion; "I never knew a conduct ſuperior to that of the French commodore; to ſay truth, all the officers of that nation have manifeſted an extraordinary courage; none of them yielded till it was become abſolutely impoſſible to work their ſhips."

The French had but ſeven men of war left to eſcort the merchantmen to the American iſles, under the command of Monſ. de l'Eſtanduere. They were met by fourteen Engliſh men of war. They engaged as they had done at Cape Finiſterre, with the ſame courage and the ſame ſucceſs: the ſuperior number prevailed, and admiral Hawke entered the Thames with ſix ſhips out of the ſeven he had engaged. At that time the maritime power of the king of France was reduced to a ſingle man of war. This made every body ſenſible of cardinal de Fleury's erroneous conduct, in neglecting to cultivate ſea-affairs; and this fault has been ſince repaired.

CHAP. CXCIV.

The FRENCH take MADRASS, and oblige the ENGLISH to raiſe the ſiege of PONDICHERRY, &c.

WHILST the Engliſh carried their victorious arms over ſo many ſeas, and the whole globe was become the theatre of the war, they at laſt felt the effects of it in their colony of Madraſs. A perſon of the name of Bourdonnaie,

donnaie, who was at once a merchant and a warrior, vindicated the honour of the French flag in the remoteſt part of Aſia. Madraſs, or Fort St. George, upon the coaſt of Coromandel, is of the ſame ſervice to the Engliſh that Pondicherry is to the French. Theſe two rival towns are but ſeven or eight leagues diſtant from each other; and commerce is ſo extenſive in that part of the world, and the induſtry of the Europeans ſo much ſuperior to that of the Aſiatics, that theſe two colonies have it in their power to increaſe their wealth without doing each other any hurt. Monſ. de Pleix, governor of Pondicherry, and chief of the French ſettled in the Indies, had propoſed a neutrality to the Engliſh company. Nothing could have been more adviſeable for traders: theſe offers, made by reaſon and humanity, were rejected by avarice and pride. The Engliſh flattered themſelves, and not without ſome grounds, that it would be as eaſy for them to conquer on the Indian ſeas, as they had done elſewhere, and totally to annihilate the French company.

Monſ. de la Bourdonnaie was, like the du Queſnes, the Barts, the du Gue-Truins, capable of doing a great deal with an inconſiderable force, and equally verſed in commerce and navigation. He was governor of the iſlands of Bourbon and Mauritius, which places he was nominated to by the king, and governed them in the name of the company. Theſe iſles were become flouriſhing by his care: in fine, he left the iſle of Bourbon with nine ſhips, fitted out by himſelf for war, and having on board two thouſand three hundred white men, and eight hundred blacks, whom he diſciplined himſelf,

and

and made of them excellent gunners. An Engliſh ſquadron, under the command of captain Barnet*, cruized in that ſea, defended Madraſs, infeſted Pondicherry, and took a great many prizes. He attacked that ſquadron, diſperſed it, and without loſs of time laid ſiege to Madraſs.

Deputies came, and repreſented to him that it was not proper to attack the dominions of the grand mogul. They were entirely in the right; it is a proof of the exceſs of Aſiatic weakneſs to ſuffer it, and of European boldneſs to attempt it. The French landed without reſiſtance; their artillery was brought up before the walls of the ill-fortified town, defended by a garriſon of five hundred ſoldiers. The Engliſh ſettlement conſiſted of Fort St. George, in which were all the magazines of the White-town, which is inhabited only by Europeans, and of that called the Black-town, peopled with merchants and tradeſmen of all the nations of India, Jews, Banians, Mahometans, idolators, negroes of different kinds, red Indians, and ſwarthy Indians; all theſe taken together amounted to fifty thouſand ſouls.

The governor was ſoon forced to ſurrender. The city was ranſomed by the payment of eleven hundred thouſand pagodas, which ſum is equivalent to about nine millions, French money. No individual ever did a ſervice of greater importance to his country. An unhappy miſ-

* It was not commodore Barnet, but Peyton, who ſhamefully declined an engagement with a French ſquadron of inferior force to his own, and abandoned the ſettlement of Madraſs.

underſtanding between him and the council of Pondicherry deprived France of the fruit of his labours. This man, whoſe name ſhould be for ever dear to the nation, was treated at Paris as a criminal. His enemies cauſed him to be impriſoned in the Baſtile: he there languiſhed during three years and a half; but at length the commiſſioners appointed by the king unanimouſly pronounced him innocent. France conferred another title upon him; ſhe called him her Revenger. The decree by which he was juſtified was received with as great acclamations as the French prizes had been at London: the commiſſioners only reſtored him his liberty, but the nation by its tranſports of joy recompenſed his paſt ſufferings. Such circumſtances as theſe are more worthy to be tranſmitted to poſterity than many military operations.

He was not the only perſon who did the ſtate important ſervices in the war, though deſtined to peaceful employments by his profeſſion. Mr. de Pleix preſerved Pondicherry, which the Engliſh beſieged with forces capable of deſtroying that great ſettlement. That city, which was peopled much in the ſame manner as Madraſs, was better fortified. Four hundred and fifty pieces of cannon were erected upon its ramparts: there were in it experienced officers, and excellent engineers, with a garriſon of about one thouſand five hundred French, and two thouſand Aſiatics, well diſciplined and well affected. It had flouriſhed ſince the year 1725. The company, by a calculation made in 1743, found itſelf poſſeſſed of effects to the value of one hundred and ſixty millions. The taking of Pondicherry would have given France a wound

wound that the utmoſt care would not have been able to cloſe in the ſpace of twenty years.

Admiral Boſcawen laid ſiege to it with about four thouſand Engliſh or Dutch ſoldiers, and as many Indians, backed by the greateſt part of the ſailors aboard his fleet, which conſiſted of one and twenty ſhips. The French did not confine themſelves within their walls; they made many vigorous ſallies, and, after a ſiege of fifty days, forced the enemy to retire. From that time forward the governor of Pondicherry, always maſter of Madraſs, became the protector of the viceroys upon the coaſt of Coromandel. He was himſelf honoured with the title of viceroy by the Indian emperor: he received from his maſter the order of St. Lewis, an honour which was never before conferred in France upon any one that was not in the army; but an order below the merits of a man who had rendered the French name reſpectable in the Indies.

CHAP. CXCV.

Of ITALY; the Revolution of GENOA; and the Peace of AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

THE war occaſioned by the Auſtrian ſucceſſion reſembled a diſeaſe which often changes its nature and ſymptoms. It ſeemed probable at the beginning of the year 1741, that the queen of Hungary would entirely loſe her dominions; and in 1746, the houſe of Bourbon

was

was upon the point of being deprived of Naples and Sicily, which belonged to Don Carlos, and of the dutchy of Parma, which was the inheritance of Don Philip, his brother. Both theſe princes were ſons of Philip V. king of Spain, and great grand-ſons of Lewis XIV. Both were ſettled in Italy, through the happy conſequences of the efforts made by Lewis XIV. in order to preſerve the throne to Philip V.

The duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia, in conjunction with the new houſe of Auſtria, and the Engliſh, made war againſt Lewis XV. after having made it for him in the year 1733, juſt as his father had by turns fought for and againſt Lewis XIV. And in Italy the ſame efforts were exerted in order to the eſtabliſhing there the power of foreign nations, which have been conſtantly ſeen in that country, ſince the ſubverſion of the Roman empire.

Rome frequently beheld the German, Spaniſh, and Neapolitan troops upon its territories. The king of Sardinia and the Auſtrians, in 1746, conquered all before them, from the frontiers of Naples to thoſe of France. The French and Spaniards loſt the moſt flouriſhing armies, notwithſtanding the ſucceſsful campaigns which the prince of Conti had made upon the Alps. But the moſt extraordinary accident that happened during this adverſe fortune was the revolution of Genoa; whatever elſe came to paſs had a precedent, but this event had none.

The republic of Genoa had implored the protection of France in this almoſt univerſal war. Genoa does not, like the city of Milan, lie under the neceſſity of delivering up its keys to whoever

ever approaches it with an army. Beſides its own compaſs, it has another incloſure, formed upon a chain of rocks. Beyond this double incloſure the Appenine mountains ſerve to fortify it round. The poſt of Bochetta, by which the enemy advanced, had always been looked upon as impregnable; and yet the troops who guarded that poſt made no reſiſtance, but went off to join the French and Spaniſh army by Ventimille. The conſternation of the Genoeſe did not allow them even to attempt a defence. They had a conſiderable quantity of artillery, the enemy had no guns fit to be uſed at a ſiege; but they did not wait the coming of that cannon, and terror hurried them into all the perplexity which they dreaded. The ſenate precipitately ſent four ſenators to the defiles of the mountains, where the Auſtrians were encamped, in order to receive from the marquis de Botta Adorno, a native of Milan, who commanded the troops of the empreſs queen, whatever laws he ſhould think proper to ſubject them to. They conſented to give up their city in twenty-four hours, as likewiſe all the French, Spaniards, and Neapolitans in it, together with the effects which might belong to the ſubjects of France, Spain, and Naples. It was expreſly ſtipulated, that four ſenators ſhould go as hoſtages to Milan; that the dodge and ſix other ſenators ſhould repair to Vienna in the ſpace of a month, to aſk pardon for their paſt tranſgreſſions; that they ſhould pay directly 50,000 genovines, which make about four hundred thouſand livres of France, till the conquerors ſhould determine what farther contributions to require of them.

It

It was remembered upon this occaſion, that Lewis XIV. formerly inſiſted upon the doge of Genoa coming to Verſailles, accompanied by four ſenators, in order to apologize for his conduct: two were added upon the empreſs queen's account; but ſhe picqued herſelf upon refuſing what Lewis XIV. had exacted. She was of opinion that no great glory was to be acquired by mortifying the weak; and therefore made it her chief care to levy upon the Genoeſe conſiderable contributions, of which ſhe ſtood more in need than of the empty honour of ſeeing the doge of the republic of Genoa at the foot of the imperial throne. Genoa was taxed twenty-four millions of livres, which was enough to ruin it entirely. This republic little expected, when the war for the Auſtrian ſucceſſion began, that ſhe would prove a victim to it; but as ſoon as the principal ſtates of Europe have taken up arms, every petty ſtate ſhould tremble.

Genoa had already paid ſixteen millions; the reſt was rigorouſly exacted, and the victors lived at the expence of the vanquiſhed in their houſes. In fine, this very people that had voluntarily ſubmited to the yoke; that had ſurrendered at diſcretion whilſt it had ſtill defenders remaining; that had patiently ſuffered itſelf to be deprived of its own property, at length took courage when it had neither hope nor reſource.

The Auſtrians took the artillery belonging to the town in order to convey it to Provence, into which country the armies of the empreſs queen and the king of Sardinia had penetrated. The Genoeſe themſelves helped to carry the pieces of cannon of which they were deprived.

An Auſtrian officer one day ſtruck with his cane a common fellow who was a little tardy in doing this ſervice; upon this the whole populace aſſembles in a body, runs to arms, falls upon its conquerors in the ſtreets and public places, with whatever weapon firſt offers itſelf. They march to the repoſitory of arms, while the ſenate filled with irreſolution, did not dare publicly to ſecond their efforts. They arm themſelves regularly, and being rendered ſoldiers by deſpair, drive the Auſtrians from the gates which they guarded: they then name their chiefs. The conſternation with which the Genoeſe had been ſo long daunted now enters the breaſt of their new maſters. The peaſants of parts adjacent being animated by the example of the citizens, aſſemble to the number of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand. A prince named Doria, deſcended from a family to which Genoa has been more than once indebted for its preſervation, attacks general Botta in St. Peter des Arenes; the Auſtrians fly, one thouſand of them being ſlain, and three thouſand taken priſoners: they abandon their magazines and their baggage; they repaſs the Bochetta, and quit the territories of Genoa.

This extraordinary revolution contributed greatly to deliver Provence from the armies of Auſtria and Piedmont, which ravaged it and menaced Marſeilles. The proviſions which that victorious army thought to procure from Genoa entirely failed it. The marſhal de Belleiſle, ſo much celebrated for the retreat he made from Prague to Egra in 1742, during the miſfortunes of the emperor Charles VII. and of the French in Bohemia, had time to arrive with an

an army, and to force the enemy to fly from Provence, and to paſs the Var.

Theſe being driven out of Provence, ſoon fell upon Genoa; ſhe was again upon the point of loſing that liberty which ſhe had recovered in ſo ſingular a manner.

She was blocked up; an Engliſh fleet ſailed up to her port. There were diviſions between the ſenate and people, which might prove much more dangerous than the Auſtrians, the Piedmonteſe, and the Engliſh. She had not wherewithal to pay the few regular troops which ſhe had raiſed ſo precipitately.

The court of Spain promiſed aſſiſtance; the king of France furniſhed her with men and money: the galleys of Toulon arrived with about five thouſand French, notwithſtanding the Engliſh fleet. The duke de Boufflers arrived with freſh ſuccours; he was ſon to the marſhal de Boufflers who had ſerved ſo bravely under Lewis XIV. and he was worthy of ſuch a father; but he died at Genoa of the ſmall-pox, on the ſame day that the enemy, diſconcerted by the meaſures he had taken, retired to a conſiderable diſtance from the town.

They ſoon after returned, and with much greater forces than at firſt. The duke of Richlieu, who ſucceeded the duke de Boufflers, ſaved Genoa; and the ſenate, which was indebted to him for its liberty, cauſed a ſtatue to be erected to his honour.

In this flux of fortunate and unfortunate events, a brother of marſhal de Belleiſle loſt part of his army, and was killed in attacking the Piedmonteſe, who had intrenched themſelves in a defile of Piedmont. But Lewis XV. repaired all

all by his victories in the Low Countries. Maeſtricht was upon the point of ſurrendering to marſhal Saxe, who laid ſiege to it after the moſt ſkilful march which had ever been made by any general, and from thence went directly to Nimeguen. The Dutch were in great conſternation; about thirty-five thouſand of their ſoldiers were priſoners of war in France. That republic ſeemed to be threatened with diſaſters much greater than thoſe of the year 1672; but what France gained in one place ſhe loſt in another: her colonies were expoſed, her commerce was periſhing, and ſhe had no more men of war left. All the nations engaged in war ſuffered, and all ſtood in need of peace, as they did in the preceding wars. Near ſeven thouſand merchant ſhips, belonging either to France, Spain, England, or Holland, had been taken during the courſe of theſe reciprocal depredations: and it is reaſonable to conclude from thence that about fifty thouſand families had ſuffered conſiderable loſſes. Add to all theſe calamities the multitude of the ſlain, and the difficulty of raiſing recruits: this is the natural conſequence of every war. One half of Germany and Italy was ravaged, together with the Low Countries; and to increaſe and prolong all theſe misfortunes, thirty-five thouſand Ruſſians, allured by the gold of England and Holland, were already arrived in Franconia. The French were upon the point of ſeeing upon their frontiers the ſame troops that had vanquiſhed the Turks and Swedes.

What characterized this war in a particular manner was, that Lewis XV. after every victory he gained had offered peace, which was conſtantly

ſtantly rejected. But when the enemy ſaw at length that Maeſtricht was likely to have the ſame fate with Bergen-op-zoom, and that Holland was in danger, they aſked that peace which was become neceſſary to all mankind.

One of the plenipotentiaries of France at the congreſs at Aix-la-chapelle began by declaring that he came to fulfil the promiſe of his maſter, whoſe intention was to make peace like a king, and not like a merchant.

Lewis XV. aſked nothing for himſelf; but he did all he could for his allies. By this peace he ſecured the two Sicilies to Don Carlos, a prince of his own family; he ſettled in Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, Don Philip, his ſon-in-law; the duke of Modena, his ally, and ſon-in-law to the duke of Orleans, the late regent, was reinſtated in the poſſeſſion of his country, which he had loſt by eſpouſing the cauſe of France. Genoa recovered all her privileges. It appeared more noble, and even more profitable to the court of France, to think of nothing but the welfare of her allies, than to procure two or three towns in Flanders, which would have given riſe to conſtant jealouſies.

England, which had engaged in this univerſal war, merely on account of a ſingle ſhip, loſt many men, and much treaſure by it; and the diſpute concerning the veſſel ſtill remained undecided. The king of Pruſſia gained greater advantages than any power concerned in the war: he preſerved the conqueſt of Sileſia at a time when it was a received maxim amongſt all potentates not to ſuffer the aggrandizement of any prince. Next to the king of Pruſſia, the duke of Savoy, king of Sardinia, was the great-

eſt

eſt gainer; the queen of Hungary having purchaſed his alliance with part of the dutchy of Milan.

After this peace France recovered its ſtrength in the ſame manner as after the peace of Utrecht, and even became more flouriſhing. In this period Chriſtendom was divided between two great parties, which were a check upon each other, and equally contributed to ſupport the balance of Europe, that pretext of many wars which ought to ſecure an eternal peace. The ſtates of the empreſs queen of Hungary and part of Germany, Ruſſia, England, Holland, and Sardinia, compoſed one of theſe great factions. The other was formed by France, Spain, the two Sicilies, Pruſſia, and Sweden. All the powers continued in arms, and it was hoped that a laſting repoſe would ſpring from the fear with which one half of Europe inſpired the other.

Lewis XIV. was the firſt that kept on foot armies extremely numerous, which forced other princes to make an effort to do the ſame; ſo that after the peace of Aix-la-chapelle the chriſtian powers of Europe had about a million of men under arms; and they flattered themſelves that none would preſume to break the peace for a long time, becauſe every ſtate was armed in its defence.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXCVI.

Concerning the War between FRANCE and ENGLAND in 1756.

IN the midſt of this peace, founded upon the preparation for war, the jealouſies of the ſeveral ſtates, and the efforts of ſo many princes, an unexpected event changed for ſome time this great ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by diſtruſt, and time will ſoon give it a new face. A ſlight difference between France and England, occaſioned by ſome uncultivated lands belonging to Canada, inſpired all the ſovereigns of Europe with a new plan of policy. It is unneceſſary to obſerve, that this difference owed its riſe to the negligence of all the miniſters, who in 1712 and 1713 negociated the treaty of Utrecht. France had, by this treaty, yielded to England Acadia, which bordered upon Canada, with all its antient boundaries; theſe they were not very well acquainted with; this is an overſight which was never committed in a contract between private perſons. Diſputes were the natural reſult of this omiſſion. If philoſophy and juſtice had any influence in the differences of mankind, they would have convinced them that the French and Engliſh contended for a country to which they had no right: but abſtract reaſoning is of no conſequence in worldly affairs. The Engliſh laid claim to the whole country as far as the borders of Canada, and would have annihilated the commerce of France in that part of America. Their rich and populous colonies rendered them greatly ſuperior to the French in North

North America; their fleets made them ſtill more ſo at ſea; and having deſtroyed the maritime power of France in the war of 1741, they flattered themſelves that nothing could reſiſt them, either in the new world, or upon our ſeas: they were miſtaken, however, at leaſt it has hitherto appeared ſo.

They began hoſtilities in the year 1755*, by attacking the French upon the confines of Canada;

* By this very partial repreſentation, one would be apt to believe that the Engliſh began the war from motives of avarice and ambition, without having received the leaſt diſturbance or provocation from the French. But, immediately after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, even while the commiſſaries of both nations were conferring together at Paris, in order to ſettle the limits of Acadia, the French invaded Nova Scotia, expelled the Engliſh inhabitants, and built the fort Beau Sejour upon the ground that was then in litigation. They excited the Indians to harraſs the infant colony of Nova Scotia; and the French neutrals of that country openly rebelled againſt the Engliſh government, appearing in arms under the command of a French officer called Le Corne. Not contented with theſe ſcandalous encroachments, they raiſed forts at Niagara, and in the neighbourhood of the Ohio, upon lands belonging to the Indians, whom they themſelves had acknowledged in an expreſs article of the treaty of Utrecht, to be ſubjects of Great Britain. Nay, they completed a chain of fortifications from Canada to the river Miſſiſſippi, ſo as to hem in all the Britiſh colonies, and cut off all communication between them and the inland parts of America. In the year 1754, the French began hoſtilities on the Ohio, by ſurpriſing and plundering Logs Town, and an Engliſh fort on the forks of the river Monongahela. They had, previous to this event, made ſeveral Engliſh traders priſoners, and even ſent them to France, and when repreſentations on the ſubject of theſe outrages were made by the Britiſh ambaſſador at the court of Verſailles, he received nothing but evaſive anſwers. In the year 1755, before a ſhip ſailed from England, certain intelligence was brought that a powerful French

nada; and, without any previous declaration of war, they took above three hundred merchant-ſhips, juſt as if they were veſſels that carried on a contraband trade; they likewiſe ſeized ſome veſſels belonging to other nations, which carried merchandize to the French. The king of France at this juncture obſerved a conduct quite different to that of Lewis XIV. He at firſt contented himſelf with demanding ſatisfaction, and did not allow his ſubjects even to cruize againſt the Engliſh.

Lewis XIV. often ſpoke to other courts with an air of ſuperiority. Lewis XV. made the ſuperiority affected by the Engliſh evident to all other courts. Lewis XIV. had been reproached with an ambition which aimed at univerſal monarchy; Lewis XV. made it appear that the Engliſh aimed at being monarchs of the ſea in effect. All nations then wiſhed to ſee the power of England reduced, as they had before deſired to ſee the pride of Lewis XIV. humbled.

In the mean time Lewis XV. took the beſt meaſures to procure a juſt revenge; his troops defeated the Engliſh in 1755 upon the confines of Canada*; he prepared a formidable fleet in his

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French ſquadron with frigates and tranſports, containing a great number of land forces, was ready to ſail from Breſt for Canada: then indeed an Engliſh fleet was equipped to anticipate and fruſtrate the deſigns of that ſquadron.

* Theſe troops were commanded by Braddock, an officer altogether unequal to that command, who fell into an ambuſcade in the neighbourhood of Fort Du Queſne near the Ohio, and periſhed with a good number of officers and ſoldiers. What is very remarkable, the Engliſh never ſaw the faces of their enemies, who lay concealed behind

his ports, and he propoſed to attack George II. king of England by land in his electorate of Hanover. This invaſion of Germany threatened Europe with the flame of war, the firſt ſpark of which took fire in America. Upon this occaſion the whole ſyſtem of Europe's politics was changed. The king of England prepared to oppoſe the French in Germany with thirty thouſand Ruſſians, who were to be paid by him. The Ruſſian empire was in alliance with the emperor and the empreſs-queen of Hungary. The king of Pruſſia had reaſon to apprehend that the Ruſſians, the Imperialiſts, and Hanoverians, would fall upon him at the ſame time. He had an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men; he did not heſitate a moment to join with the king of England, to prevent the Ruſſians from entering Germany on the one hand, and to cut off the paſſage of the French troops on the other. This ſtep had an effect which the king of Pruſſia did not deſire, and which nobody expected; it reconciled the houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria, an union which ſo many negociations and marriages had not been able to bring about: thus, what was never hoped for ſince Charles V.'s acceſſion to the empire, was effected without difficulty above two hundred years after, by a diſguſt which France conceived againſt a prince of the empire. The houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria were united by a defenſive league, but without any one's being able to

behind trees and buſhes, from whence they fired with great deliberation, until the Britiſh troops were broken, and began to retreat in diſorder; then they ſhewed themſelves to the number of a few hundreds, and appeared to be chiefly Indians.

foreſee the conſequence of this ſo much wiſhed for union.

But treaties alone were not ſufficient to revenge the king of France for the depredations of England: he procured with eaſe, and in a moment, all the money he had occaſion for, by one of thoſe prompt expedients which are not known except in ſuch opulent countries as France. The money raiſed by creating twenty new farmers of the revenue, with a few loans, was ſufficient to ſupport the war during the firſt years, whilſt Great Britain exhauſted herſelf by exorbitant taxes *.

A feint was made of invading the coaſts of England. This period was very unlike that in which queen Elizabeth, ſupported only by her Engliſh ſubjects, having every thing to fear from Scotland, and being ſcarce able to keep Ireland in ſubjection, baffled the prodigious efforts of Philip II.

George II. king of England, thought it neceſſary to bring over the Hanoverians and Heſſians, in order to defend his coaſts. The Engliſh, who had not foreſeen this conſequence of the war, murmured to find their country overrun with ſtrangers, the haughtineſs of many citizens was converted into fear, and they began to tremble for their liberty.

The Engliſh government had made a miſtake with regard to the deſigns of France: it dreaded an invaſion, and never once thought of the iſland of Minorca, which had coſt ſuch vaſt ſums, in the war concerning the Spaniſh ſuc-

* The courſe of the war has demonſtrated how far Great Britain was at that time exhauſted. But we muſt give our author leave to write like a Frenchman.

ceſſion.

ceſſion. The Engliſh, as the reader has been already informed, had taken Minorca from the Spaniards. The poſſeſſion of that conqueſt, ſecured by all the treaties, was of greater importance to them than Gibraltar, which is not a port, and made them maſters of the Mediterranean Sea. The king of France, about the latter end of April 1756, ſent the marſhal duke of Richelieu to that iſland with about twenty battalions, eſcorted by twelve firſt-rate men of war, and a few frigates, which the Engliſh did not expect to ſee fitted out ſo ſoon: all things were ready at the proper time, and the Engliſh were unprepared in every thing. However, in the month of June 1756, they attempted, when it was too late, to attack the French fleet commanded by the marquis de Galiſſoniere. Had they been ſucceſsful in this battle, they would not thereby have preſerved the iſland of Minorca; but they would have ſaved their reputation. Their attempt however was fruitleſs; the marquis de la Galiſſoniere repulſed and put their fleet in diſorder *. The Engliſh miniſtry ſaw with grief that they had laid France under a neceſſity of eſtabliſhing a formidable navy.

The Engliſh however ſtill retained hopes of defending the citadel of Port-Mahon, which was conſidered as the ſtrongeſt place in Europe next to Gibraltar, both by its ſituation, the nature of the ground upon which it ſtood, and thirty years care, which was beſtowed upon its

* The French commander was ſo far from repulſing the Britiſh ſquadron on this occaſion, that he bore away from it, and left an undiſputed victory to the Engliſh.

fortifications. It was every where a ſmooth rock, with trenches twenty feet, and in ſome places thirty feet deep cut into it; there were eighty mines under the works before which it was impoſſible to open trenches: every thing was impenetrable to cannon-balls, and the citadel was every where ſurrounded by external fortifications, cut out of the rock itſelf.

The marſhal de Richelieu attempted an enterprize more bold than that againſt Bergen-op-zoom; this was to make an aſſault at the ſame time upon all the works that defended the body of the place.

The French troops entered the trenches, notwithſtanding the fire of the Engliſh artillery; they planted ladders thirteen feet high againſt the walls: the officers and ſoldiers having aſcended to the laſt ſtep, ſprung upon the rock, by mounting upon each others ſhoulders: it was by this inconceivable boldneſs they made themſelves maſters of all the out-works. The troops exerted ſurpriſing courage, as they were to engage three thouſand Engliſh, ſeconded by all that nature and art could do to defend them.

The next day the place ſurrendered. The Engliſh were unable to conceive how the French could force thoſe trenches, into which a man in cold blood would find it impoſſible to deſcend.

The general and the French nation acquired great honour by this action *. With it we ſhall con-

* One cannot help ſmiling to ſee our author finiſh his hiſtory of the war at the very period when fortune turned tail to his countrymen. He might, however, in decency, have mentioned the defeat of the French forces in America, and

conclude this ſlight ſketch of a general view of Europe from the death of Lewis XIV. All theſe events will be one day obſcured by the multitude of revolutions to which revolving ages will give birth: but the age of Lewis XIV. will flouriſh during all ages, through the influence of the elegant arts, which will reflect laſting glory upon it.

If the uſeful arts, to which we owe the conveniencies of life; and the polite arts, which render it agreeable by improving the human mind, had not diſtinguiſhed this age, it would, like others, be nothing more than a lively picture of the viciſſitudes and the calamities of mankind. What is there to be met with in the hiſtory of Europe down from the miniſtry of the Richelieus, the Buckinghams, the Olivarezes, and the Oxenſtierns, but countries a long time laid waſte by civil and foreign wars, or kings, princes, and miniſters, dying upon a ſcaffold, or in priſon.

Thoſe who chuſe to add to the peruſal of this reign that of the life of Charles XII. which contains every thing that relates to the czar Peter I. will find that had it not been for a native of Geneva, who aided the natural genius of that emperor, Ruſſia would ſtill have been in a ſtate of barbariſm.

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and the capture of their general Dieſkau, by Sir William Johnſon, at the head of a ſmall body of Provincials; an action that more than ballanced the check which the Engliſh under Braddock had received. Indeed, we cannot help obſerving, that our author's ſketch of the preſent war is extremely defective and unſatisfactory.

They will there ſee a magnificent city riſe from the midſt of a marſh; fleets built in places where a ſingle boat had never been ſeen before; a ſociety regulated amongſt a people to whom its very name had been unknown. Ambition and court-intrigues have there produced great misfortunes as well as in other nations: but political œconomy became general, and the improvement of the arts have prevented this country from being plunged again into its original chaos.

We have juſt ſeen a bloody ſcene in Sweden during the month of June 1756; citizens put to death by their fellow citizens, for having raſhly attempted to change the conſtitution; but in the midſt of theſe calamities, and of all the uneaſineſs that attended them, a work was undertaken in imitation of the canal of Languedoc, not leſs extraordinary than its model, by which a paſſage was opened for ſhips from the ocean to the Baltick ſea, without their being under a neceſſity of entering the ſtreights of the Sound.

Were we to conſider the age of Lewis XIV. only with a view to the wars ſuſtained by that monarch, we ſhould meet with two eſteemed unjuſt, a third occaſioned by the two firſt, and a fourth that ruined France; in which wars above two millions of men were killed in battle, and as many periſhed miſerably. But if we deſcend into the particulars of government, we ſhall ſee a variety of eſtabliſhments, which, at this day, conſtitute the glory and happineſs of the nation.

Before we enter into theſe details ſo intereſting to every citizen, it may not be improper

per to take a curſory view of the court anecdotes, which ſeem to furniſh nothing but amuſement, though a judicious reader may from thence derive the moſt inſtructive leſſons.

CHAP. CXCVII.

Private ANECDOTES, of the REIGN of LEWIS XIV.

ANECDOTES are a ſort of confined field, where we glean after the plentiful harveſt of hiſtory: they are ſmall narratives, which have long been ſecreted, whence they receive the name of anecdotes, and when they concern any illuſtrious perſonages, are ſure to engage the public attention.

Plutarch's lives are but a collection of anecdotes, rather entertaining than true: how could he have procured faithful accounts of the private life of Theſeus or Lycurgus? Moſt of the maxims which he puts into the mouths of his heroes advance moral virtue rather than hiſtorical truth.

The ſecret hiſtory of Juſtinian, by Procopius, is a ſatire dictated by revenge; and tho' revenge may ſpeak the truth, this ſatire, which contradicts his public hiſtory, has not always the appearance of it.

We now are not allowed to imitate even Plutarch, much leſs Procopius. We admit none as hiſtorical truths, but what are well ſupported. When contemporaries, like the car-

dinal of Retz and the duke of Rochefoucault, inveterate enemies to each other, confirm the ſame tranſaction in both their accounts of it, that tranſaction cannot be doubted: when they contradict each other, we muſt doubt them: what does not come within the bounds of probability can deſerve no credit, unleſs ſeveral cotemporaries of unblemiſhed reputation join unanimouſly in the aſſertion.

The moſt uſeful and moſt valuable anecdotes are thoſe ſecret papers which great princes leave behind them, in which their minds have thrown off all reſerve. Such are thoſe I am now going to relate of Lewis XIV.

Domeſtic occurrences only amuſe the curious: the diſcovery of weakneſſes only entertains the malignant, except where theſe weakneſſes inſtruct, either by their fatal conſequences, or thoſe virtues which prevented the impending misfortune.

Secret anecdotes of cotemporaries are liable to the charge of partiality: they who write at any conſiderable diſtance of time ſhould uſe the greateſt circumſpection, ſhould diſcard what is trifling, reduce what is extravagant, and ſoften what is ſatirical.

Lewis XIV. was ſo magnificent in his court, as well as reign, that the leaſt particulars of his private life ſeem to intereſt poſterity, as they drew the attention of all the courts of Europe, and of all his contemporaries. The ſplendor of his government threw a light on his moſt trivial actions. We are more eager, eſpecially in France, to know the tranſactions of his court, than the revolutions of other ſtates. Such is the effect of a great reputation! We had rather

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be informed of what paſſed in the cabinet and court of Auguſtus, than hear a full detail of the conqueſts of Attila or Tamerlane.

Hence all who have written the hiſtory of Lewis XIV. have been very exact in dating his firſt attachment to the baroneſs of Beauvais, to mademoiſelle d'Argencourt, to cardinal Mazarin's niece, who was married to the count of Soiſons, prince Eugene's father; and quite elaborate in ſetting forth his paſſion for Maria Mancini, that prince's ſiſter, who was afterwards married to the conſtable Colonne.

He had not aſſumed the reins of empire, when theſe amuſements buſied and plunged him into that languid ſtate, in which cardinal Mazarin, who governed with a deſpotic ſway, permitted him to remain. His bare attachment to Maria Mancini was an affair of great importance; for he was ſo paſſionately fond of her, as to be tempted to marry her, and yet was ſufficient maſter of himſelf to quit her entirely. This victory, which he gained over his paſſion, made the firſt diſcovery of the greatneſs of his ſoul; he gained a more ſevere and difficult conqueſt in leaving the cardinal Mazarin in poſſeſſion of abſolute ſway. Gratitude prevented him from ſhaking off that yoke which now began to grow too heavy. It was a well known anecdote at court, that after the cardinal's death, he ſaid, "I do not know what I ſhould have done, had he lived any longer.*"

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* This anecdote is atteſted by the memoirs of La Porte, page 255, and we there ſee that the king had taken an averſion to the cardinal; that that miniſter, though his re-

He employed himſelf in this ſeaſon of leiſure with reading books of entertainment, and eſpecially in company with the conſtable, who had a facetious turn as well as his ſiſters. He delighted in poetry and romances, which ſecretly flattered his own character, by pointing out the beauty of gallantry and heroiſm. He read the tragedies of Corneille, and formed to himſelf that taſte which was only the reſult of ſolid ſenſe, and of that readineſs of ſentiment which is the characteriſtic of a real genius.

The converſation of his mother, and the court ladies contributed very much to give him this taſte, and form him to that peculiar delicacy, which began now to diſtinguiſh the court of France. Anne of Auſtria had brought with her a kind of generous and bold gallantry, not unlike the Spaniſh diſpoſition in thoſe days: to this ſhe added politeneſs, ſweetneſs, and a decent liberty, peculiar to the French only. The king made a greater progreſs in this ſchool of entertainment from eighteen to twenty, than he had all his life in that of the ſciences under his tutor, the Abbé of Beaumont, afterwards archbiſhop of Paris: he had very little learning of this laſt ſort. It were to have been wiſhed he had at leaſt been inſtructed in hiſtory, eſpecially the modern; but what they had at that time was very indifferently wrote. He was

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lation, and entruſted with the charge of his education, had taken no care to improve him, and had often left him in want of common neceſſaries. He adds much heavier accuſations, which reflect diſhonour on the cardinal's memory; but they do not appear to be proved, and no accuſation ſhould be admitted without it.

uneaſy

uneaſy at having peruſed nothing but idle romances, and the diſagreeableneſs he found in neceſſary ſtudies. A tranſlation of Cæſar's commentaries was printed in his name, and one of Florus in that of his brother; but thoſe princes had no other hand in them, than having thrown away their time in writing a few obſervations on ſome paſſages in thoſe authors.

He who was chief director of the king's education under the firſt marſhal Villeroi his governor, was well qualified for the taſk, was learned and agreeable: but the civil wars ſpoiled his education; and cardinal Mazarin was content he ſhould be kept in the dark. When he conceived a paſſion for Maria Mancini, he ſoon learned Italian to converſe with her, and at his marriage he applied himſelf to Spaniſh, but with leſs ſucceſs. His neglect of ſtudy in his youth, a fearfulneſs proceeding from the dread of expoſing himſelf, and the ignorance in which cardinal Mazarin kept him, perſuaded the whole court that he would make juſt ſuch a king as his father Lewis XIII.

There was only one circumſtance, from which thoſe capable of forming a judgment of future events, could foreſee the figure he would make: this was in 1655, after the civil wars, after his firſt campaign and conſecration, when the parliament were about to meet on account of ſome edicts: the king went from Vincennes in a hunting dreſs, attended by his whole court, and entering the parliament chamber in jack boots, and his whip in his hand, made uſe of theſe very words: "The miſchiefs your aſſemblies produce are well known: I command you to break up thoſe you have began upon my edicts. Mr.

Preſident, I forbid you to permit theſe aſſemblies, and any of you to demand them*."

His height already majeſtic, his noble action, the maſterly tone and air he ſpoke with, affected them more than the authority due to his rank, which hitherto they had not much reſpected: but theſe bloſſoms of his greatneſs ſeemed to fall off the moment after; nor did the fruits appear till after the cardinal's death.

The court, after the triumphant return of Mazarin, amuſed itſelf with play, with balls, with comedies, which being but juſt produced in France, had not grown into an art; and with tragedies, which were now a ſublime ſcience, through the management of Peter Corneille. A † curate of St. Germain, who inclined towards the rigorous precepts of the Janſeniſts, had frequently wrote to the queen againſt theſe ſhows, from the very beginning of her regency. He pretended that thoſe were damned who attended them, and had this anathema ſigned by ſeven doctors of the Sorbonne: but the abbé Beaumont, the king's preceptor, defended them by the approbation of more doctors than the rigid prieſt could procure to condemn them. Thus he quieted the queen's ſcruples; and when he was archbiſhop of Paris, gave the ſanction of authority to that opinion which he had defended when only an abbe.

* Theſe words, faithfully copied, are in all the authentic journals of thoſe times: it is neither allowable to omit or change a word in them in any hiſtory of France. The author of M. de M. makes a bold conjecture in his note. "His "ſpeech was not quite ſo good, but his eyes ſpoke more ſen-"ſibly than his mouth."

† The cures or curates in France are their pariſh miniſters.

I muſt

I muſt obſerve, that after cardinal Richelieu had introduced at court regular plays, which have at laſt raiſed Paris to rival Athens, there was not only a bench appointed for academics, (in which body were ſeveral eccleſiaſtics) but one in particular for the biſhops.

Cardinal Mazarin, in 1646 and 1654, had Italian operas performed by voices which he brought from Italy, in the theatre of the royal palace, and at the little Bourbon near the Louvre. This new entertainment had juſt ariſen at Florence, a country favoured at that time by fortune as well as nature, to which we owe the revival of many arts, loſt in the preceding centuries, and the invention of new ones. France ſhewed ſome relics of her antient barbarity in oppoſing the eſtabliſhment of theſe arts.

The Janſeniſts, whom the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin wanted to keep under, revenged themſelves upon theſe diverſions, which theſe two miniſters had introduced. The Lutherans and Calviniſts had acted the ſame part in pope Leo X's time. Beſides, their oppoſition was ſufficient to gain them the character of auſterity. The ſame men, who would overturn a ſtate to eſtabliſh opinions frequently abſurd, anathematiſed the innocent pleaſures neceſſary in ſo large a city, and the arts, which contributed to the ſplendor of the nation. Aboliſhing theſe diverſions was an act more worthy the age of Atilla than that of Lewis XIV.

Dancing, which may now be reckoned among the arts *, becauſe it is tied down to rules, and adds

* Cardinal Richlieu had already given balls, but they were without taſte, as were all entertainments before his time.

adds grace to motion, was one of the greateſt amuſements of the court. Lewis XIII. had only danced once at a ball in 1625; and that ball was in ſo bad a taſte, that it did not in the leaſt preſage the appearance this art made in France thirty years after. Lewis XIV. excelled in grave dances, which were agreeable to the majeſty of his figure, and did not injure that of his rank. At the running at the ring, which was ſometimes performed with great ſplendor, he ſhewed that peculiar dexterity which he had at all exerciſes. Pleaſure and magnificence, ſuch as they then were, diffuſed themſelves univerſally; but they were nothing in compariſon of what appeared when the king ſat on the throne; and yet might be reckoned amazing, after the horrors of a civil war, and the dulneſs of the retired and melancholy life of Lewis XIII. That prince, without health and ſpirits, had neither been attended, lodged, or equipped as a king. He had not above an hundred thouſand crowns worth of jewels belonging to the crown: cardinal Mazarin little more than doubled that ſum, and now we have jewels to the amount of above twenty millions of livres.

1660 At the marriage of Lewis XIV. every thing aſſumed an air of the higheſt taſte and magnificence, and this increaſed daily. When he made his entry with his queen conſort, Paris ſaw with a reſpectful and tender admiration, that beautiful young queen, drawn in a ſuperb car, of a new invention; the king rode on horſeback

time. The French, who have now carried the art of dancing to perfection, had only a few Spaniſh dances in the minority of Lewis XIV. as the ſarabrande, the courante, &c.

by

by her ſide, adorned with all that art could add to his manly and heroic beauty, which drew univerſal attention. At the end of the ſtreets of Vincennes a triumphal arch was built, the foundation of which was ſtone, but the ſhortneſs of the time would not permit them to finiſh it with ſuch durable materials; the reſt was only plaiſter, and has ſince been entirely pulled down. The deſign was given by Claude Perrault. The gate of St. Anthony was rebuilt for the ſame ceremony; a monument of no very noble taſte, but adorned with ſome good pieces of ſculpture. All who had ſeen the day of the battle of St. Anthony, and the dead and dying bodies of the citizens brought to Paris thro' this gate, then furniſhed with a portcullis, and who beheld this entry ſo extremely different, bleſſed heaven, and returned their thanks for ſo happy a change.

Cardinal Mazarin added to the ſolemnity of this marriage the repreſentation of an Italian opera in the Louvre, called Hercules in Love. This did not pleaſe the French. They ſaw nothing in it that entertained them, but the king and the queen, who danced. The cardinal wanted to ſignalize himſelf by a play more to the taſte of the nation. The ſecretary of ſtate at Lyons undertook to have a ſort of allegorical tragedy, after the taſte of that of Europa, in which cardinal Richelieu had ſome hand. The great Corneille was happy in not being choſen to work upon ſuch poor materials. The ſubject was Liſis and Heſperia. Liſis ſignified France, and Heſperia Spain. Quinault was ſet to work upon it, who had juſt raiſed himſelf a reputation by his Falſe Tiberinus, which, though a bad piece, had amazing ſucceſs. The Liſis had not

not the ſame fate. It was acted at the Louvre, and had nothing good in it but the machinery. The marquis of Sourdiac, of the name of Rieux, to whom France was afterwards indebted for the eſtabliſhment of the opera, acted at the ſame time, at his own expence, in his caſtle of Newbourg, The Golden Fleece, by Peter Corneille, with machinery. Quinault, a youth of a genteel figure, was ſupported by the court; Corneille by his name, and the nation. There was one continued train of feaſts, pleaſures and gallantry from the king's marriage, which encreaſed on that of the king's brother with Henrietta of England, ſiſter of Charles II. and was not interrupted till the death of cardinal Mazarin 1661.

Some months after the death of this miniſter, an event happened, which was not to be paralleled; and what is no leſs ſtrange, is unnoticed by all the hiſtorians. An unknown priſoner, of a majeſtic height, young, of a graceful and noble figure, was ſent with the utmoſt ſecrecy to the caſtle on St. Margaret's iſland, in the ſee of Provence. This priſoner, on the road wore a maſk, the chin of which was compoſed of ſteel ſprings, which gave him liberty to eat with his maſk on. Orders were given to kill him if he diſcovered himſelf. He remained in the iſland, till an officer of tried fidelity, named St. Mars, governor of Pignerol, was made governor of the Baſtile in 1690. He went to the iſland of St. Margaret, and brought him to the Baſtile with his maſk on all the way. The marquis de Louvois went to ſee him in that iſland before his departure, and ſpoke to him with great reſpect, and without

out ſitting down. This ſtranger was brought to the Baſtile, and lodged as well as he could be in that caſtle. He was refuſed nothing that he deſired. His greateſt pleaſure was in extraordinary fine linen and laces. He played on the guittar. He was much careſſed, and the governor ſeldom ſat down in his preſence. An old phyſician of the Baſtile, who had frequently attended this ſtrange gentleman in his illneſs, declared he never ſaw his face, though he had frequently examined his tongue, and other parts of his body. This phyſician ſaid, that he was rather brown, but extremely well made. The very tone of his voice was engaging, but he never complained of his ſituation, nor ever diſcovered who he was *.

This ſtranger died in 1704, and was buried at night in the pariſh of St. Paul. What redoubles our aſtoniſhment is, that when he was ſent to the iſle of St. Margaret, no perſon of any conſequence diſappeared in Europe. This priſoner was, however, doubtleſs a man of high rank, for on his firſt arrival in the iſland, the governor himſelf ſet the ſilver plates upon his table, and then retired, after ſecuring the door. One day the priſoner wrote upon a ſilver plate with the point of a knife, and threw the plate out of the window towards a boat which was on the river, near the foot of the tower. A fiſherman, to whom the boat belonged, took up the plate, and brought it to the governor. He with great eagerneſs aſked the

* A famous ſurgeon, ſon-in-law to the phyſician above mentioned, is witneſs of what I have ſaid, and Mr. Bernaville, ſucceſſor of St. Mars, has often confirmed it.

fiſher-

fiſherman, "Have you read what is wrote upon this plate, or has any one ſeen it ſince you had it?" The fiſherman anſwered, "I do not know how to read. I have juſt found it, and nobody has ſeen it." The peaſant was detained till the governor was convinced that he never could read, and that the plate had been ſeen by no other perſon. "Go, (ſays he) you are happy in not knowing how to read." There are ſome very credible witneſſes of this fact, who are now living. Mr. Chamillard was the laſt perſon, who knew any thing of this ſtrange ſecret. The ſecond marſhal of Feuillade, his ſon-in-law, told me, that at the death of his father-in-law, he conjured him on his knees to tell him who that perſon was who was never known but by the name of the man with the iron maſk. Chamillard anſwered him that it was a ſecret of ſtate, and that he had taken an oath never to reveal it. In fine, there are many of my cotemporaries who will atteſt the truth of what I advance; nor do I know any one fact ſo extraordinary, and ſo well ſupported.

Lewis XIV. in the mean while divided his time between the pleaſures agreeable to his age, and the duties of his ſtation. He held a council daily, and then ſtudied in ſecret with Colbert. This ſecret labour was the original cauſe of the diſgrace of the famous Fouquet, in which the ſecretary of ſtate, Gunegaud, Peliſſon, and many others, were included. The fall of this miniſter, who perhaps was leſs to blame than cardinal Mazarin, ſhewed that all people have not the liberty of committing the ſame faults. His ruin was already determined, when the king accepted of that magnificent feaſt which

this

this miniſter entertained him with in his houſe of Vaux. This palace and gardens had coſt him eighteen million of livres, which were then as much as thirty-ſix millions would be now*. He had built the palace twice, and bought three entire villages, the land of which was all encloſed in theſe immenſe gardens, laid out by le Notre, and then eſteemed the fineſt in all Europe. The fountains of Vaux, which made no indifferent appearance after even thoſe of Verſailles, of Marly, and St. Cloud, were at that time prodigies. But how grand ſoever his palace was, the expence of eighteen millions, the accompts of which are now ſubſiſting, ſhew that he was ſerved with as little œconomy as he ſerved the king. The palaces of St. Germain and Fontainebleau, the only pleaſure-houſes the king had, certainly were not to compare with Vaux. Lewis XIV. obſerved it, and was piqued. Throughout the whole houſe were to be ſeen the arms of Fouquet: a ſquirrel, with this motto, *Quo non aſcendam?* Where ſhall I not aſcend? The king had it explained to him. The ambition of this device did not contribute to appeaſe the monarch. The courtiers obſerved, that the ſquirrel was every where painted, as purſued by an adder, which was the arms of Colbert. The entertainment exceeded what cardinal Mazarin had ever given, not only in magnificence, but taſte. There, for the firſt time, was acted the Impertinents of Moliere. Peliſſon had made the prologue, which was much admired. Public pleaſures ſo often

* The accounts which prove the above were at Vaux, now called Villars, in 1718, and muſt be there ſtill.

conceal

conceal or prepare the court for private diſaſters, that had it not been for the queen-mother, the ſuperintendant and Peliſſon would have been arreſted at Vaux the very day of the feaſt. What inflamed the reſentment of his maſter was, that mademoiſelle la Valiere, for whom the king began to feel a lively paſſion, had been one of the objects of the ſuperintendant's looſe deſires, who ſpared nothing to ſatisfy them. He had offered La Valiere two hundred thouſand livres, which ſhe had rejected with ſcorn, before ſhe had formed any deſign upon the heart of the king. The ſuperintendant ſoon perceiving what a powerful rival he had, aimed at being the confident of her of whom he could not be the poſſeſſor, and this too enraged his majeſty.

The king, who in the firſt heat of his reſentment was tempted to arreſt the ſuperintendant in the very middle of the entertainment he received from him, afterwards diſſembled when it was not neceſſary. It was ſaid, that the monarch now in full power dreaded Fouquet's party.

He was attorney-general to the parliament, and this office gave him the privilege of being tried by the united chambers. But after ſo many princes, marſhals, and dukes, &c. had been tried by commiſſaries, they might have given the ſame treatment to a magiſtrate, who would make uſe of ſuch extraordinary meaſures as, though they might not really be unjuſt, might raiſe a ſuſpicion of their being ſo.

Colbert perſuaded him by no very honourable artifice to ſell his office, and he parted with it for twelve hundred thouſand livres, which now coſts above two millions. The immoderate price

price of places belonging to the parliament, ſo greatly diminiſhed in value ſince that time, ſhews the high eſtimation in which this body was ſtill held, even in its ſtate of depreſſion. The duke of Guiſe, great chamberlain to the king, had not ſold this office of the crown to the duke of Bouillon for more than eight hundred thouſand livres.

Tho' Fouquet ſquandered the revenues of the ſtate, and uſed them as his own proper income, he had ſtill much greatneſs of ſoul; what he embezzled, he ſpent in magnificence and acts of liberality. He cauſed the money which he had for his place to be brought into the king's privy treaſury; yet this noble action did not ſave him. They drew a man by artifice to Nantz, whom one exempt and two ſoldiers might have ſeized at Paris. The king carreſſed him before his diſgrace*.

I know not why moſt princes commonly affect to deceive by falſe appearances of favour, thoſe among their ſubjects whom they mean to ruin. At ſuch times diſſimulation is the oppoſite to greatneſs: it never is a virtue, and cannot become a valuable accompliſhment, except when abſolute neceſſity enforces it. Lewis XIV. ſeemed to act out of character: but he was made to underſtand, that Fouquet was about raiſing conſiderable fortifications in Belleiſle, and that he poſſibly might have too many connections, both without and within the kingdom. It plainly appeared at the time in

* In the ſame manner, James I. of England carreſſed the earl of Somerſet, when he had reſolved upon his deſtruction.

which

which he was arreſted and carried to the Baſtile, and to Vincennes, that the ſtrength of his party lay only in the avarice of ſome courtiers, and certain women, who received penſions from him, and forgot him the moment he was no longer able to beſtow them. The only friend he had left were Peliſſon, Gourville, mademoiſelle Scudri, ſuch as were involved in his diſgrace, and ſome men of letters. The verſes of Hainault, the tranſlator of Lucretius, againſt Colbert, the perſecutor of Fouquet, are well known.

Miniſtre avare & lâche, eſclave malheureux,
Qui gémis ſous le poids des affaires publiques,
Victime devoué aux chagrins politiques,
Fantôme révéré ſous un titre onéreux,
Voi combien des grandeurs le comble eſt dangereux;
Contemple de Fouquet *les Funeſtes reliques,*
Et tandis qu' à ſa perte en ſecret tu t'appliques,
Crains qu' on ne te prepare un deſtin plus affreux
Sa chûte quelque jour te peut être commune.
Crain ton poſte, ton rang, la cour & la fortune.
Nul ne tombe innocent d' où l' on te voit monté.
Ceſſe donc d' animer ton prince à ſon ſupplice.
Eſt prêt d'avoir beſoin de toute ſa bonté,
Ne le fais pas uſer de tonte ſa juſtice.

Baſe, ſordid miniſter, poor ſlave miſplac'd,
Who groan'ſt beneath the weight of ſtate affairs,
Devoted ſacrifice to public cares,
Vain phantome, with a weary title grac'd;
The dang'rous point of envy'd greatneſs ſee;
Of fall'n Fouquet behold the ſad remains;
And while his fall rewards thy ſecret pains,
Dread a more diſmal fate prepar'd for thee.

Thoſe

Thoſe pangs he ſuffers thou one day may'ſt feel;
Thy giddy ſtation dreads the court and fortune's wheel.
Againſt him ceaſe thy prince's ire to feed,
From pow'r's ſteep ſummit few unhurt deſcend,
Thyſelf, perhaps, ſhall all his mercy need;
Then ſeek not all his rigour to extend.

Mr. Colbert, as ſome perſons were diſcourſing with him about this libellous ſonnet, aſked, whether the king was offended with it? and upon being told he was not, "So neither am I," replied the miniſter.

It is true, that the commencing of a proceſs againſt the ſuperintendant would be impeaching the memory of cardinal Mazarin: for the moſt conſiderable depredations of the finances were his doings: he, like a deſpotic ſovereign, had appointed to himſelf ſeveral branches of the public revenue; he had treated in his own name, and to his own advantage, for military ſtores. "He had impoſed, ſays Fouquet in his defence, by letters cachet, extraordinary ſums on the generalities; which was never done but by him, and for his behalf; a proceeding, which was puniſhable with death according to the royal ordinances." It was in this manner the cardinal amaſſed immenſe riches, and theſe even unknown to himſelf.

I have heard the late Mr. de Caumartin, intendant of the finances, relate, that in his youth, ſome years after the death of the cardinal, he had been in the palais Mazarin, where reſided the duke his heir, and the dutcheſs Hortenſe; that he ſaw there a large preſs, or cabinet, which was very deep, and from top to

bottom took up the whole height of the closet where it stood. The key had been lost for some time, so that the drawers had been neglected to be opened. Mr. Caumartin, surprised at the oversight, says to the dutchess of Mazarin, that probably some curiosities might be found in this press. It was accordingly opened, and was quite full of the coin called quadruples, also gold counters, and medals of the same metal: of this madam Mazarin threw handfulls to the people out at the windows for the space of above eight days together *.

The abuse which cardinal Mazarin made of his arbitrary power did not justify the superintendant; but the irregularity of the proceedings against him; the tediousness of his process; times which extinguishes public envy, and inspires people's minds with compassion for the unhappy; together with solicitations, always more active in favour of an unfortunate person, than means employed to ruin him: all these together saved his life. Judgment was not given in the process till three years after, in 1664; and, of the twenty-two judges who gave sentence, only nine made it capital. The other thirteen, among which there were some that Gourville † had prevailed on to accept of presents, gave their opinion for perpetual banishment. But the king commuted the punishment into one still more severe; for he was confined in the castle of Pignerol ‡. All the historians say, that he died there in 1680; but Gourville as-

* I have since found the same story in St. Evremont.

† See Gourville's memoirs.

‡ There he amused himself in composing works of piety.

sures

ſures us in his memoirs, that he was releaſed from priſon ſome time before his death. The counteſs of Vaux, his daughter-in-law, had before ſtrongly averred this fact to me, tho' the contrary is believed among his own family. Thus one knows not in what place died an unfortunate man, whoſe leaſt actions, while he was in power, were ſtriking.

Guenegaud, the ſecretary of ſtate, who ſold his place to Colbert, was no leſs purſued by the chamber of juſtice, who ſtripped him of the greateſt part of his fortune.

St. Evremont *, who had a particular friendſhip for the ſuperintendant, was involved in his diſgrace. Colbert, who ſearched every where for proofs againſt him whom he had a mind to ruin, cauſed ſome papers to be ſeized that were entruſted to the care of madam du Pleſſis-Bellievre, among which was found a manuſcript letter of St. Evremont's, upon the peace of the Pyrennees. This piece of pleaſantry, which was repreſented as a crime againſt the ſtate, was read to the king. Colbert, who

* This was the celebrated Charles de St. Denys, lord of St. Evremont, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gallantry in the field, and his wit in converſation. His letter, reflecting on the memory of cardinal Mazarin, being diſcovered, Lewis ordered him to be impriſoned in the Baſtile; but before he could be arreſted, he made his eſcape into Holland, and was invited to England by king Charles II. who gratified him with a penſion of three hundred pounds. He lived to enjoy the favour of king William alſo, and died at London in the year 1703, at the age of ninety. His writings have been admired for the vivacity of his ſtile, the ſtrength and delicacy of his portraits, the juſtneſs of his reflections, the elegance of his taſte, and the agreeable variety of his expreſſion. They are not, however, without affectation, obſcurity, and falſe fire; and his poetry is but indifferent.

ſcorned to avenge himſelf upon Hainault, a perſon of an obſcure character, perſecuted in St. Evremont the friend of Fouquet, whom he hated, and the fine genius, which he dreaded. The king was ſo extremely ſevere as to puniſh an innocent piece of raillery compoſed ſome time before againſt cardinal Mazarin, whom he himſelf had not regretted, and whom the whole court had inſulted, reproached, and proſcribed for ſeveral years with impunity. Among a thouſand pieces written againſt this miniſter, the leaſt poignant was the only one which was puniſhed; and that after his death.

St. Evremont, having retired into England, lived and died there with the freedom of a man and a philoſopher. The marquis de Miremont, his friend, formerly told me in London that there was another reaſon for his diſgrace, which St. Evremont would never be prevailed upon to explain.

The new miniſter of the finances, under the ſimple title of comptroller general, juſtified the ſeverity of his proceedings, in re-eſtabliſhing the order which his predeceſſors in office had broken through, and by labouring indefatigably to promote the grandeur of the ſtate.

The court became the centre of pleaſure, and the model for the imitation of other courts. The king piqued himſelf upon giving feaſts or entertainments, which obliterated the remembrance of that made by the count of Vaux.

It ſeemed that nature took delight at that time to produce in France ſome of the greateſt men in all the arts, and to aſſemble at court the moſt beautiful and beſt made perſons of

both

both ſexes. The king excelled all his courtiers, in the proper dignity of his ſtature, and the majeſtic beauty of his features. The tone of his voice, noble and ſtriking, gained thoſe hearts which his preſence intimidated. He had a gait which could ſuit none but himſelf and his high rank, and would have been ridiculous in any other. The embarraſſment into which he threw thoſe who ſpoke to him flattered ſecretly the complaiſance with which he felt his own ſuperiority. That old officer, who being ſomewhat confounded, faultered in his ſpeech on aſking him a favour, and being unable to finiſh his diſcourſe, told him, "Sire, I do not tremble thus before your enemies," eaſily obtained his demand.

The reliſh of ſociety had not as yet received all its perfection at court. Anne of Auſtria, the queen-mother, began to love retirement, the reigning queen hardly underſtood the French tongue, and goodneſs conſtituted her only merit. The princeſs of England, ſiſter-in-law to the king, brought to court the charms of a ſoft and animated converſation, which was ſoon improved by the reading of good books, and by a ſolid and delicate taſte. She perfected herſelf in the knowlege of the language, which ſhe wrote but badly at the time of her marriage. She inſpired an emulation of genius that was new, and introduced at court a politeneſs, and ſuch graces as the reſt of Europe had hardly any idea of. Madame poſſeſſed all the vivacity of her brother Charles II. being adorned with the charms of her own ſex, and both the power and deſire of pleaſing. The court of Lewis XIV. breathed a gallantry full of decorum, whilſt that which reigned at

the court of Charles II. was of a freer kind, and, being too much unpoliſhed, diſhonoured its pleaſures.

There paſſed at firſt between madame and the king a good deal of that coquetry of wit and ſecret ſympathy, which were obſervable in little feaſts often repeated. The king ſent her copies of verſes, and ſhe anſwered him in the like manner. It happened that the very ſame perſon was confident both to the king and madame, in this ingenious commerce; and this was the marquis de Dangeau. The king gave the marquis in charge to write for him; and the princeſs alſo engaged him to anſwer the king. He thus ſerved both of them, without giving any grounds of ſuſpicion to the one that he was employed by the other: and this was one of the cauſes of his making his fortune.

This intelligence had alarmed the royal family, but the king converted the noiſe made by this commerce into an invariable ſource of eſteem and friendſhip. When madame afterwards engaged Racine and Corneille to write the tragedy of Berenice, ſhe had in view not only the rupture of the king with the conſtable Colonne, but the reſtraint which ſhe herſelf put upon her own inclinations, leſt they ſhould have a dangerous tendency. Lewis XIV. is ſufficiently pointed out in theſe two verſes of Racine's Berenice:

Qu'en quelque obſcurité, que le ciel l'eût fait naitre,
Le monde, en le voyant, eût reconnu ſon mâitre.

His birth, howe'er obſcure, his race unknown,
The world in him its ſov'reign chief would own.

Theſe

Theſe amuſements gave way to the more ſerious, and regularly purſued paſſion which he entertained for mademoiſelle de la Valiere, maid of honour to madame. He taſted with her the happineſs of being beloved purely for his own ſake. She had been for two years the ſecret object of all the gallant amuſements and feaſts which the king had given. A young valet de-chambre to the king, called Belloc, compoſed ſeveral recitatives, intermixed with dances, which were performed ſometimes at the queen's, and ſometimes at madame's; and theſe recitatives myſteriouſly expreſſed the ſecret of their hearts, which ſoon ceaſed being any longer ſo.

All the public diverſions which the king gave, were ſo many pieces of homage paid to his miſtreſs. In 1662 a carouſal was performed over againſt the Tuilleries*, in a ſpace of vaſt circuit, which on that account ſtill retains the name of la Place du Carrouſel. In it were five quadrilles, or parties: the king was at the head of the Romans; his brother at that of the Perſians; the prince of Condé of the Turks; the duke d'Enguien his ſon, headed the Indians; and the duke of Guiſe †, the Americans. This duke

* Not in the Place Royale, as the Hiſtorie de la Hode, under the name of Martiniere, has it.

† This Henry, duke de Guiſe, was deſigned for the church, provided with a great number of abbeys, and even nominated to the archbiſhopric of Rheims: but he was ſtripped of all his benefices by the cardinal de Richelieu. He fought a duel with the count de Coligny, for which he was obliged to retire to Rome, from whence he repaired to Naples, in order to command the army of the people who had rebelled againſt the court of Spain. His adventures, on this occaſion, were altogether romantic; but in

duke of Guiſe was the grandſon of Balafré; he had made himſelf famous in the world for the unfortunate temerity with which he had undertaken to make himſelf maſter of Naples. His priſon, duels, romantic amours, prodigality, and adventures, rendered him quite ſingular. He ſeemed to be a perſon of another age. It was ſaid of him, upon ſeeing him run againſt the great Condé, "Here go the heroes of hiſtory and of romance.".

The queen-mother, the reigning queen, and the queen of England, dowager of Charles I *. then forgetting her misfortunes, ſat under a canopy to view this ſpectacle. The count de Sault, ſon to the duke de Leſdiguieres, won the prize, and received it from the hands of the queen-mother. Thoſe feaſts revived, more than ever, the taſte for devices and emblems, which tournaments had formerly brought into vogue, and which continued after theſe were no more.

An antiquary, called d'Ouvrier, invented, in 1662, for Lewis XIV. the emblem of the ſun, darting its rays upon a globe, with theſe words, *nec pluribus impar*; *i. e.* Yet a match for many. The thought was a kind of imitation of a Spaniſh device made by Philip II. and was more applicable to this king, who poſſeſſed the fineſt part of the new world, and ſo many ſtates in the old, than to a young king of France, who hitherto gave no more than hopes. This device had prodigious ſucceſs. The king's

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ſpite of all his courage and efforts, he was taken priſoner, and conveyed to Spain, from whence he was releaſed at the ſolicitation of the great prince of Condé.

* Not Charles II. as the original has it.

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cabinets, the moveables of the crown, the tapeſtries, and ſculptures, were all adorned with it; yet the king never carried it in his carouſals. Lewis XIV. has been unjuſtly condemned for the pride of this device, as if he had choſen it himſelf; and perhaps it has been more juſtly cenſured for its foundation. The body does not repreſent that which the legend ſignifies; and this legend has not a quite clear and determined ſenſe. That which may be explained ſeveral ways does not deſerve to be explained by any. Devices, thoſe remains of the ancient chivalry, may ſuit with feaſts, and give ſome pleaſure when theſe alluſions are juſt, new, and pointed. It is better to have none, than ſuffer ſuch as are bad and low, like that of Lewis XII. which was a hedge-hok, with theſe words, *Qui s'y frotte, s'y pique*; *i e.* He that touches me, galls himſelf. Devices are, with regard to inſcriptions, what maſquerades are to more ſolemn ceremonies.

The feaſt of Verſailles in 1664 ſurpaſſed that of the carouſal for its ſingularity, magnificence, and the pleaſures of the mind, which mixing with the ſplendor of theſe diverſions, added a reliſh and ſuch charms as no feaſt had ever yet been embelliſhed with. Verſailles began to be a delightful reſidence, without approaching to the grandeur at which it arrived afterwards.

On the fifth of May the king came hither with a court conſiſting of ſix hundred perſons, who, with their attendants, were entertained at his expence, as were likewiſe all thoſe employed in preparing theſe enchanting ſcenes. There was nothing ever wanting at theſe feaſts

but ſuch monuments erected for giving of them, as were conſtructed by the Greeks and Roman. But the readineſs with which they built the theatres, amphitheatres, and porticoes, beautified with as much magnificence as taſte, was a wonder which added to the illuſion, and which, diverſified afterwards in a thouſand ways, ſtill augmented the charms of theſe ſpectacles.

There was at firſt a ſort of carouſal. Thoſe who were to run appeared the firſt day as in a review; they were preceded by heralds at arms, pages, and ſquires, who carried the devices and bucklers; and upon the bucklers were written in letters of gold, verſes compoſed by Perigni * and Benſerade †: this laſt eſpecially had

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* The abbe Perrin was a native of Lyons, the firſt who, by royal patent, eſtabliſhed an opera in Paris, in imitation of the Venetian opera. He and his partners erected a theatre in the Rue Mazarine, and in the year 1672, exhibited the paſtoral Pomona, the poetry by Perrin, and the muſic by Lambert. Perrin afterwards quarrelling with his partners, reſigned his patent in favour of the famous Lully, who built a new theatre near the palace of the Luxembourg, from whence he in the ſequel transferred his company to the hall of the Palais Royal. Perrin, beſides ſeveral paſtorals of five acts, wrote many ſonnets, odes, and elegies. He alſo tranſlated the Æneid of Virgil in verſe, and enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare of reputation. His death happened about the year 1680.

† Iſaac Benſerade was born of a good family, at Lyons in Normandy in the year 1612. He ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a wit, a poet, and a man of gallantry, was gratified with a conſiderable penſion by the queen mother of Lewis XIV. and lived in great familiarity and eſteem with the noblemen of that court. He compoſed tragedies, comedies, and verſes for ballets, which were in great eſteem at court, as

had a ſingular talent for theſe gallant pieces, in which he always made delicate and lively alluſions to the characters of the perſons preſent, to the perſonages of antiquity or mythology which they repreſented, and to the paſſions actuating the court at that time. The king perſonated Roger; when all the diamonds belonging to the crown ſparkled upon his cloaths, and the horſe which he rode. The queens, and three hundred ladies under triumphal arches, viewed this entry.

The king, amidſt all the eyes which were fixed upon him, diſtinguiſhed only thoſe of mademoiſelle de la Valiere*. The feaſt was for her alone; which ſhe ſecretly enjoyed, tho' not diſtinguiſhed from the crowd.

The cavalcade was followed by a gilt car eighteen feet high, fifteen broad, and twenty-

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as well as through all France, in the younger days of Lewis. All the wits of that kingdom were divided on the merit of two ſonnets, one by Benſerade, and the other by Voiture. He was particularly patronized by cardinal Mazarin, and preſerved his reputation to a good old age. Among his bon mots, the moſt remarkable is the repartee he made to a gentleman whom he had often rallied on ſuſpicion of impotence. That gentlemen meeting Benſerade in the ſtreet, "Well (ſaid he) notwithſtanding all your railery, my wife has been delivered ſome days." "O, ſir, (replied the poet) I never doubted the ability of your wife."

* Louiſa Frances de la Beaum-le-Blanc de la Valiere, was maid of honour to Henrietta of England, dutcheſs of Orleans. She fell in love with the perſon of Lewis XIV. who returned her paſſion; had ſeveral children by her, and raiſed her to the rank of dutcheſs of Vaujour, and peereſs of France. Tired of the pleaſures of a court, and touched by the ſtings of repentance, ſhe retired to the convent of the Carmelites in Paris, and ſpent the latter part of her life in acts of piety and mortification.

four long, repreſenting the chariot of the ſun. The four ages of gold, ſilver, braſs, and iron, the celeſtial ſigns, the ſeaſons, and the hours followed this car on foot. All was diſtinctly characterized. Shepherds carried pieces of the encloſure, that were adjuſted by the ſound of trumpets, to which ſucceeded at intervals violins and other inſtruments. Some perſons who followed Apollo's car, came at firſt to recite to the queens certain verſes ſuitable to the place, the time, and the perſons preſent. After the races were finiſhed, and the night came on four thouſand large flambeaux lighted the ſpot where the feaſt was given. The tables therein were ſerved by two hundred perſons, who repreſented the ſeaſons, the fauns, ſylvans, and dryades, with ſhepherds, grape-gatherers, and reapers. Pan and Diana advanced upon a moving mountain, and deſcended from it, in order to place upon the tables whatever the country and the foreſts produced that was moſt delicious. Behind the tables, in a ſemi-circle, roſe up all at once a theatre filled with performers in concert. The arcades which ſurrounded the table and theatre were decorated with five hundred chandeliers, with tapers in them; and a guilt baluſtrade incloſed this vaſt circuit.

Theſe feaſts, ſo much ſuperior to what are invented in romances, laſted for ſeven days. The king carried four times the prizes of the games; and afterwards he left thoſe he had won to be contended for by other knights, and accordingly gave them up to the victors.

The comedy of the princeſs d'Elide, or princeſs of Elis, though not one of the beſt plays of Moliere,

Moliere, was one of the moſt agreeable decorations of theſe games, for the vaſt number of fine allegories on the manners of the times, and for the appoſite purpoſes which form the agreeableneſs of theſe feaſts, but which are loſt to poſterity. People at court were ſtill fond, even to madneſs, of judicial aſtrology: many princes imagined, through an haughty ſuperſtition, that nature diſtinguiſhed them by writing their deſtiny in the ſtars. Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, father to the dutcheſs of Burgundy, retained an aſtrologer near his perſon, even after his abdication. Moliere was ſo bold as to attack this deluſion in his comedy.

Here alſo was to be ſeen a court-fool. Theſe wretched fellows were ſtill much in vogue. This was a relic of barbariſm that continued longer in Germany than in any other place. The want of amuſements, and the inability of procuring ſuch as are agreeable and virtuous in times of ignorance and bad taſte, had given occaſion to the invention of this wretched pleaſure, which degrades the human mind. The fool who was then in the court of Lewis XIV. had formerly belonged to the prince of Condè; his name was Angeli. The count de Grammont ſaid, that of all the fools who followed that prince, there was none but Angeli who made his fortune. This buffoon was not without ſome parts. It is he who ſaid, "That he went not to hear ſermons, becauſe, as he did not like brawling, ſo he did not underſtand reaſoning."

The farce of the Forced Marriage was likewiſe acted at this feaſt. But what 1264
was truly admirable here was, the firſt repreſentation of the three firſt acts of Tartuffe.

The king had an inclination to ſee this maſter-piece even before it was finiſhed. He afterwards protected it againſt thoſe falſe bigots, who would have drawn in earth and heaven to be intereſted for the ſuppreſſion of it: and it will ſubſiſt, as has been already ſaid elſewhere, as long as there ſhall be any taſte and hypocrites remaining in France.

Moſt part of theſe ſhining ſolemnities are often calculated only to pleaſe the eyes and the ears. That which is no more than pomp and magnificence paſſes away in one day; but when maſter-pieces of art, like the Tartuffe, make up the ornament of theſe feaſts, they leave behind them an eternal remembrance.

There are ſtill freſh in memory ſeveral ſtrokes of thoſe allegories of Benſerade which were an ornament to the ballads of that time. I ſhall only give here the verſes for the king, repreſenting the ſun.

Je doute qu'on le prenne avec vous ſur le ton
De Daphné ni de Phaëton.
Lui trop ambitieux, elle trop inhumaine,
Ill n'eſt point là de piége où vous puiſſiez donner;
Le moyen de s' imaginer,
Qu'une femme vous fuie, et qu'un homme vous mène?

With you I doubt we muſt not prate
Of Daphne's ſcorn and Phaeton's fate,
He too aſpiring, ſhe inhuman;
In ſnares like theſe you cannot fall,
For who will dream that e'er you ſhall
Be fool'd by man, or ſhunn'd by woman.

The principal glory of theſe amuſements, which perfected taſte, politeneſs and parts, in France,

France, proceeded from this, that they did not take the monarch off in the leaſt from his aſſiduous labours: for without theſe he would only have known how to keep a court, and would have been unacquainted with the methods of governing: ſo that had the magnificent pleaſures of this court inſulted over the miſeries of the people, they had only been odious. But the ſame perſon who gave theſe feaſts, gave bread to the people, in the famine of 1662. He cauſed corn to be brought, which the rich purchaſed at a cheap rate, and he gave it gratuitouſly to poor families at the gates of the Louvre: he remitted to the people three millions of impoſts; no part of the interior adminiſtration was neglected, his government was reſpected abroad, the king of Spain was obliged to yield to him the precedency, the pope was forced to make him ſatisfaction, Dunkirk was added to France by a ſale no leſs glorious to the purchaſer than it was ignominious to the ſeller. In ſhort, all the ſteps taken from the time that he held the reins of government, had been either noble or uſeful: after this the giving of feaſts was extremely proper.

Chigi, the legate a latere, and nephew to pope Alexander VII. coming in the midſt of theſe rejoicings at Verſailles to give ſatisfaction to the king for the high inſult offered by the pope's guards, preſented a new ſpectacle to the court. Such grand ceremonies are like feaſts for the public. The honours paid him rendered the ſatisfaction more ſtriking and illuſtrious. He received under a canopy the compliments of the ſuperior courts, the bodies of the city and clergy: he entered Paris under the diſcharge

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of cannon, with the great Condé on his right hand, and the ſon of that prince on his left: he came in this pomp to humble himſelf, Rome, and the pope, before the king, who had not yet drawn his ſword. After he had audience he dined with the king, and the whole concern was to treat him magnificently, and to give him pleaſure. Afterwards the doge of Genoa was treated with leſs ceremony, but with the ſame earneſt deſire of pleaſing, which the king always made reconcileable with his more lofty proceedings.

All this gave the court of Lewis XIV. an air of grandeur, which quite obſcured all the other courts of Europe. He was deſirous that this luſtre annexed to his perſon ſhould reflect a glory on all around him; that the great ſhould be honoured, beginning with his brother and the prince; and that none ſhould be powerful. It was with this view that he determined in favour of the peers their ancient diſpute with the preſidents of the parliament: the latter pretended, that they ought to give their opinions before the peers, and accordingly they put themſelves in poſſeſſion of this right: but he decided, in an extraordinary council, that the peers ſhould give their opinions at the beds of juſtice, held in the king's preſence, before the preſidents, as if they owed this prerogative only to his perſon, when preſent; and he allowed the ancient uſage in thoſe aſſemblies, which are not beds of juſtice, ſtill to continue.

In order to diſtinguiſh his principal courtiers, he invented blue ſhort coats embroidered with gold and ſilver. The permiſſion of wearing theſe was a great favour to ſuch as were guided

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by vanity. They were aſked for almoſt like the collar of an order. It may be obſerved, as we have here entered upon minute details, that at that time theſe coats were worn over a doublet adorned with ribbons, and over the coat paſſed a belt, to which hung the ſword. There was alſo a ſort of laced cravat, and a hat adorned with a double row of feathers. This mode, which laſted till 1684, became that of all Europe, except Spain and Poland: for people almoſt every where already piqued themſelves on imitating the court of Lewis XIV.

He eſtabliſhed an order in his houſhold, which ſtill continues, regulated the ſeveral ranks and offices belonging thereto; and he created new places about his own perſon, as that of the grand maſter of the wardrobe. He re-eſtabliſhed the tables inſtituted by Francis I. and augmented them. There were twelve of theſe for the commenſal officers, as they are called, who eat at court, and are ſerved with as much elegance and profuſion as a great many ſovereigns: he would have all ſtrangers invited thither, and this laſted during all his reign. But there was another point of a ſtill more deſirable and polite nature, which was, that after he had built the pavilions of Marli in 1679, all the ladies found in their apartments a complete toilette, in which nothing that belonged to the purpoſes of a commodious luxury was forgot: whoever happened to be upon a journey, might give repaſts in their apartments to their friends, and the ſame delicacy was uſed in ſerving the gueſts as for the maſter himſelf. Such trivial matters have their value only when they are ſupported by

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greater. In all his actions, ſplendor and generoſity were to be ſeen. He made preſents of two hundred thouſand franks to the daughters of his miniſters at their marriage.

That which raiſed moſt admiration of him in Europe was a piece of liberality that had no example before. He had the hint from a diſcourſe which he held with the duke of Saint-Aignan, who told him, that cardinal Richelieu had ſent preſents to ſome learned men of other countries who had written elogies upon him. The king did not wait till he was praiſed; but, ſure of deſerving it, he recommended to his miniſters Lionne and Colbert to pitch upon a number of Frenchmen and foreigners diſtinguiſhed for their literature, on whom he might beſtow marks of his generoſity. Lionne having written into foreign countries, informed himſelf as much as poſſible in a matter of ſuch delicacy, where the point was to give preference to cotemporaries. At firſt a liſt of ſixty perſons was made out: ſome had preſents given them, and others penſions, according to their rank, wants, and merit. Allati *, librarian of the Vatican, Count Graziani †, ſecretary of

* Leo Alazi was a native of Chio, acquired a great ſhare of reputation for learning, and wrote a great number of books: but his taſte and judgment were not thought equal to his erudition. He died at Rome in the year 1669 in the eighty-third year of his age.

† Jerome Graziani, count of Sarzana, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his poetical genius. He wrote an heroic poem, intitled Cleopatra, and another on the conqueſts of Grenada, together with a collection of odes and ſonnets. He was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, and afterwards created count of Sarzana by Francis duke of Modena, to whoſe family he had been alway zealouſly attached.

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ſtate to the duke of Modena, the celebrated Viviani *, mathematician to the grand duke of Florence, Voſſius † hiſtoriographer to the United Provinces, the illuſtrious mathematician Huygens, and a Dutch reſident in Sweden; in ſhort, down to the profeſſors of Altorf and Helmſtadt, towns almoſt unknown to the French, were aſtoniſhed upon receiving letters from monſieur Colbert, by which he acquainted them, that

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* Vincent Viviani was the diſciple of the famous Galileo, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſublime genius for geometry. He undertook to reſtore, by conjecture, the fifth book of *Apollonius de Maximis et de Minimis*, which was loſt. While he was engaged in this undertaking, the famous Borelli found in the grand duke's library at Florence, an Arabic manuſcript, with this Latin title, *Apollonij Pergæi conicorum libri octo*. This, with the grand duke's permiſſion, he carried to Rome to be tranſlated by Abraham Ecchellenſis, Maronite profeſſor of the Oriental tongues. Viviani, in the mean time, without the leaſt communication with this tranſlator, publiſhed his reſtoration by conjecture, and when the tranſlation of the Arabic manuſcript was finiſhed, it appeared that he had not only reſtored all that was in the fifth book of Apollonius, but carried his reſearches much farther on the ſame ſubject. He afterwards reſtored by the ſame art of divination or conjecture, three books of the antient geometrician Ariſtæus, which had periſhed through the injury of time.

† Dionyſius Voſſius, who tranſlated into Latin Reidanius's Annals, and was nominated profeſſor of hiſtory and eloquence at Derpt in Livonia, died young at Amſterdam, in the year 1633. Iſaac Voſſius, the ſon of Gerard John Voſſius, was alſo a man of great erudition, and received a very conſiderable preſent from Lewis XIV. but he was no hiſtorian. He came over to England in the reign of Charles II. and died canon of Windſor. Matthew Voſſius, the brother of Dionyſius, wrote in Latin five books of the Annals of Holland and Zealand; but it does not appear that he received either penſion or preſent from the king of France; whereas the letter of Colbert to Iſaac Voſſius is ſtill extant.

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tho' the king was not their ſovereign, he entreated them to allow him to be their benefactor. The expreſſions in theſe letters were eſtimated from the dignity of the perſons who ſent them; and all were accompanied with conſiderable gratifications, or penſions.

Among the French, they knew how to diſtinguiſh † Racine, Quinault ‡, Flechier ‖, ſince biſhop of Nimes, who was then but very young.

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† John Racine, clebrated for his tragedies which are preferred to thoſe of the great Corneille, in point of correctneſs, tenderneſs, and regularity. Corneille was more ſublime; Racine more intereſting: the one commanded admiration; the other maintained an empire over all the paſſions of the heart. Corneille was living, and admired by all France, when Racine made his firſt appearance as a tragic writer, and acquired the applauſe of the whole kingdom, without diminiſhing the fame of his great cotemporary.

‡ Philip Quinault acquired great reputation by his comedies and operas, notwithſtanding the ſatirical couplet of Boileau:

Si je penſe exprimer un auteur ſans defaut,
La raiſon dit Virgile, et la rime Quinault.

To the cenſure of this poet, Quinault made no reply. On the contrary, he courted his friendſhip, and viſited him often, in order to take his advice concerning his works; but he never ſpoke a ſyllable of Boileau's own performances, and this affected ſilence piqued him extremely. "His only reaſon (ſaid Deſpreaux) for ſolliciting my acquaintance was that he might have an opportunity to talk of his own verſes; but he never ſays a word of mine."

‖ Eſprit Flechier, biſhop of Nimes, rendered himſelf famous by writing panegyricks on the ſaints, and by compoſing funeral orations, one of the moſt celebrated of which is that which he pronounced on the great Turenne. He was a prelate of uncommon erudition, pious, moderate, and extremely charitable.

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They had preſents. It is true that Chapelain* and Cotin had penſions beſtowed upon them: but it was chiefly Chapelain whom the miniſter Colbert had conſulted. Theſe two men, otherwiſe ſo much diſparaged on account of their poetry, were not without merit. Chapelain was poſſeſſed of an immenſe ſtock of learning; and what is ſurpriſing is, that he had taſte, and was one of the moſt acute critics. There is a great difference in all this from genius. Science and vivacity conduct an artiſt; but they do not form him in any kind. None in France had more reputation in their time than Ronſard and Chapelain: the reaſon for this was, that in Ronſard's days barbariſm prevailed, and in thoſe of Chapelain the people had hardly emerged out of it. Coſtar, fellow-ſtudent with Balſac§ and Voiture, called Chapelain the firſt of the heroic poets.

Boileau

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* John Chapelain was in very high reputation for his poetical genius under the miniſtry of the cardinals Richlieu and Mazarin. Balzac has praiſed him on many occaſions. He wrote one ode to cardinal Richlieu, which is generally admired; but his poem *De la Pucelle* was the ruin of all his poetical fame; and produced the following ſevere diſtich:

Illa Capellani dudum expectata puella,
Poſt tanta in lucem tempora prodit anus.

Chapelain, in the midſt of his ſucceſs as an author, had the misfortune to fall under the ridicule of Boileau; as did his cotemporary Cotin, canon of Bayeux, who, though a good ſcholar, was a wretched preacher, and a miſerable poet

§ John Lewis Guez, lord of Balzac, was patronized as a man of genius by Richlieu, eſteemed the moſt eloquent man in France, and the great reſtorer of the French language.

Vincent Voiture was patronized by the duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his writings

Boileau had no ſhare in theſe bounties: he had hitherto wrote only ſatires; and it is well known that theſe pieces attacked the ſame learned men whom the miniſtry had conſulted. The king diſtinguiſhed him ſome years after, without conſulting any body.

The preſents made in foreign countries were ſo conſiderable, that Viviani built a houſe at Florence out of the liberality of Lewis XIV. He put in letters of gold upon the frontiſpiece, *Ædes a Deo datæ*, i. e. "This houſe is the gift of God," being an alluſion to the ſurname of Dieu Donné, which appellation the public voice had given to this prince at his birth.

The effect which this extraordinary munificence had in Europe may be eaſily imagined; and if we conſider all the memorable things which the king did very ſoon after, the moſt ſevere and moſt moroſe men ought to bear with the exceſſive elogiums profuſely thrown out upon him. Twelve panegyrics of Lewis XIV. were pronounced in different towns of Italy; an homage which was paid him neither from fear nor hope; and theſe the marquis Zampieri ſent to the king.

He always continued pouring his favours upon the ſciences and arts: of theſe we have plain proofs from particular gratifications; as about four thouſand louis-d'ors to Racine, alſo

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writings both in proſe and verſe, which were much admired for their purity of ſtile, the gaiety, gallantry, and elegant turn of thinking with which they abound. He was the ſon of a vintner at Amiens, very amorous, and much addicted to play.

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from the fortunes of Deſpreaux*, and Quinault, eſpecially that of Lulli †, and of all the artiſts who devoted their labours to him. He even gave a thouſand louis-d'ors to Benſerade for engraving the mezzotinto plates of his Ovid's Metamorphoſes in roundelays; a liberality badly applied, and which only ſhews the generoſity of the ſovereign. He alſo recompenſed in Benſerade the little merit which he had ſhewn in his ballads.

Several writers have attributed ſolely to M. Colbert this protection given to the arts, and this magnificence of Lewis XIV. But he had no further merit in the affair than ſeconding the magnanimity and taſte of his maſter. This miniſter, who had a very great genius for the finances, commerce, navigation, and the general police, had not in his own mind that taſte and elevation which the king had: he zealouſly promoted, but was far from inſpiring him with what nature had given.

It is not eaſy to diſcover upon what foundation certain authors have reproached this monarch with avarice. A prince, who has domains entirely independent of the revenues of the ſtate, may be avaricious, like an individual;

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* Nicholas Boileau, ſieur Deſpreaux, is ſo well known by his poetical works as to need no further deſcription.

† John Baptiſt Lulli was a native of Florence, though he is ſtiled the father of the French muſick. He was the firſt who introduced operas into France, and his compoſitions were univerſally admired. St. Evremont ſays he was a perfect maſter of the paſſions, and underſtood the human heart much better than the authors whoſe works he ſet to muſick.

but a king of France, who, in reality, only diſtributes the treaſure of his ſubjects, muſt of conſequence be free from this vice. The will or care to recompenſe may indeed be wanting; but this is what Lewis XIV. can never be juſtly reproached with.

At the time that he begun to laviſh ſo many favours upon men of talents, the uſe which the count de Buſſi made of thoſe he poſſeſſed was puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. He was impriſoned in the Baſtile in the year 1665. His writing the amours of Gaul was the pretext for his confinement. The real cauſe was a ſong in which the king was a little too freely treated; the memory of it was revived at this time, in order to ruin Buſſi, the ſuppoſed author:

Que Deodatus eſt heureux,
De baiſer ce bec amoureux,
Qui d'une oreille à l'autre va!

Beyond expreſſion ſure that bliſs is,
When Deodatus fondly kiſſes,
That beak ſo delicate and dear,
Replete with charms from ear to ear.

His works were not good enough to compenſate for the miſchief which they brought upon him. He ſpoke his own language with the utmoſt purity: he was not deſtitute of merit, but his ſelf-ſufficiency was much greater than his merit, and he made no other uſe of it, but to create himſelf enemies. It would have been generous in Lewis XIV. to have pardoned him: but thus he revenged his perſonal injury, whilſt he in appearance, yielded to the public clamour.

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The count de Buſſi was releaſed in about eighteen months; but he never recovered his former place in the king's favour, tho' he continued, during the remainder of his life, to profeſs an attachment to Lewis XIV. which neither the king nor any body elſe believed to be ſincere.

CHAP. CXCVIII.

Continuation of REMARKABLE PARTICULARS and ANECDOTES.

LEWIS XIV. was deſirous of joining the ſweets of friendſhip to the glory, the pleaſures, the pomp, and the gallantry which brightened the firſt years of his reign; but to make a happy choice of friends is a difficult taſk for a monarch. One of thoſe in whom he placed the greateſt confidence baſely betrayed him, the other made an ill uſe of his favour. The firſt was the marquis de Vardes, who was privy to the king's affection for madam de la Valiere. It is generally known that court-intrigues induced him to ſeek the ruin of madam de la Valiere, whoſe ſituation expoſed her to the ill-will of the jealous, but whoſe character ſhould have ſecured her from the machinations of enemies. It is known likewiſe, that he had the boldneſs, in concert with the count de Guiche and the counteſs of Soiſſons, to write a counterfeit letter to the queen, in the name of the king of Spain, her father. This letter informed the queen of what ſhould have been concealed from

her, and what could not but diſturb the peace of the royal family. Beſides being guilty of this peace of treachery, he was malicious enough to ſpread a report that the duke and dutcheſs of Navailles, the worthieſt perſons at court, were at the bottom of it. Theſe, tho' entirely innocent, were ſacrificed to the reſentment of the deceived monarch. The villainous proceeding of de Vardes was detected, but too late; criminal as he was, however, his puniſhment did not exceed that of the innocent perſons whom he had accuſed, and who were deprived of their places, and obliged to retire from court.

The other favourite was the count of Lauſun, afterwards created duke, ſometimes the king's rival in his occaſional amours, ſometimes his confidant, and ſo well known ſince by the marriage which he contracted in too public a manner with the king's niece, and which he afterwards renewed in ſecret, notwithſtanding the promiſe he had given to his maſter.

The king, diſappointed in his choice of favourites, declared, that where he had ſought for friends he had found only intriguers. This unhappy knowledge of mankind, which is generally acquired too late, cauſed him likewiſe to ſay: "Whenever I give a vacant place, I make a hundred male-contents, and one ungrateful wretch." Neither the pleaſures nor embelliſhments of the king's palaces, and of Paris, nor the care of the police, were in the leaſt diſcontinued during the war of 1666.

The king danced at the balls till the year 1670. He was then thirty two years of age. Upon ſeeing the tragedy of Britannicus played

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at St. Germain, he was ſtruck with the following verſes:

Pour mérite premier, pour vertu ſinguliére,
Il excelle à trainer un char dans la carriére.
A diſputer des prix indignes de ſes mains,
A ſe donner lui-même en ſpectacle aux Romains.

His chief deſert in trifling feats to place,
To drive the chariot foremoſt in the race,
In low purſuits to win th' ignoble prize,
Himſelf expos'd a ſhow to vulgar eyes.

From that time he ceaſed to dance in public, and the poet reformed the monarch. His connection with the dutcheſs de la Valiere ſtill ſubſiſted, notwithſtanding the frequent breaches of his fidelity to her. Theſe were not attended with much difficulty. He found every woman diſpoſed to receive his addreſſes with tranſport; and he conſtantly returned to her, who by the mildneſs and goodneſs of her character, and even by the force of habit, had captivated his affections without art. But, in the year 1669, ſhe perceived that madam de Monteſpan was gaining the aſcendant: ſhe bore this with her uſual mildneſs; ſhe ſupported the mortification of being a long time witneſs to the triumph of her rival: ſhe ſcarce uttered a complaint, but thought herſelf happy in her misfortune, becauſe ſhe was reſpectfully treated by the king, whom ſhe continued to love, and had opportunities of ſeeing him, though ſhe was not now the object of his affections.

At length, in the year 1675, ſhe had recourſe to the refuge of a mind replete with ten-

derneſs and ſenſibility, which can only be ſubdued by the moſt profound and affecting conſiderations. She thought that God alone was worthy to poſſeſs a heart which had been honoured with the affection of ſuch a lover; and her converſion in a ſhort time made as much noiſe as her paſſion had done formerly. She became a Carmelite at Paris, and perſevered in the auſterities of that order. The delicacy of a woman accuſtomed to ſo much pomp, luxury, and pleaſure, was not ſhocked when ſhe was obliged to cover herſelf with a hair-cloth, walk bare-footed, faſt rigidly, and ſing amongſt the choir at night, in a language ſhe did not underſtand. In this manner ſhe lived, from the year 1675 to the year 1710, by the name of Siſter Louiſa the Penitent. A king would deſerve the name of tyrant, ſhould he puniſh a guilty woman with ſo much ſeverity; yet many a woman has puniſhed herſelf thus for having loved. There are ſcarce any examples of ſtateſmen who have buried themſelves in this manner; yet the guilt of politicians ſeems to ſtand more in need of expiation than the frailty of lovers; but thoſe who govern ſouls have authority only with the weak.

It is generally known, that when Siſter Louiſa the Penitent was informed of the death of the duke of Vermandois, her ſon by the king, ſhe ſaid, "I ought to lament his birth more grievouſly than his death." She had a daughter, who, of all the king's children, had the neareſt reſemblance to her father; and afterwards married prince Armand of Conti, couſin to the great Condé.

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In the mean time, madam de Monteſpan enjoyed the monarch's favour, and availed herſelf of it with an external pomp and pride equal to the modeſty of madam de la Valiere.

Whilſt madam de la Valiere and madam de Monteſpan continued to vie with each other for the firſt place in the king's affection, the whole court was taken up with love-intrigues. Louvois himſelf became ſenſible to the influence of this paſſion. Amongſt the many miſtreſſes of this miniſter, whoſe rough character ſeemed ſo incompatible with love, was madam du Frenoi, wife to one of his clerks, in whoſe favour he, by his credit, afterwards cauſed a new place to be eſtabliſhed amongſt the queen's attendants: ſhe was created lady of the bed-chamber: ſhe had acceſs to the queen's perſon upon all occaſions. The king, by thus indulging the private inclinations of his miniſters, thought to juſtify his own.

There cannot be a more ſtriking example of the power of prepoſſeſſion and cuſtom, than married women being at that time allowed publicly to have gallants, whilſt the grand-daughter of Henry IV. was refuſed even a huſband. Mademoiſelle, after having rejected ſo many ſovereigns, and having entertained hopes of marrying Lewis XIV. was, at the age of forty-three, deſirous to make the fortune of a gentleman of a noble race. She obtained leave to marry Pequilin, of the Caumont family, count of Lauſun, and a captain of one of the two companies called the hundred gentlemen penſioners, which are now extinct, and for which the king had inſtituted the place of colonel-general of the dragoons. There were numerous

precedents of princeſſes who had married gentlemen: the Roman emperors often gave their daughters in marriage to ſenators: the daughters of the ſovereigns of Aſia, more powerful and more deſpotic than a king of France, always marry the ſlaves of their fathers.

Mademoiſelle beſtowed upon the count of Lauſun all her poſſeſſions, valued at twenty millions, four duchies, the ſovereignty of Dombes, the county of Eu, and the palace of Orleans, called Luxembourg. She retained nothing, having given herſelf up entirely to the pleaſing idea of making the perſon ſhe loved richer than any king ever made a ſubject. The contract was drawn up; Lauſun was for a day duke of Montpenſier; nothing now remained but to ſign. In a word, all things were in readineſs, when the king, attacked on every ſide by the repreſentations of princes, miniſters, and the enemies of a man whoſe proſperity was too great to be borne, retracted his promiſe, and forbid the alliance. He had, by letter, appriſed foreign courts of the intended marriage; he wrote again to inform them that it was dropt. He was cenſured for having permitted it; he was equally cenſured for having forbid it. He was afflicted at being the cauſe of mademoiſelle's unhappineſs. However, this very prince, who had been grieved at being under a neceſſity of breaking his word with Lauſun, cauſed him, in November 1670, to be confined in the caſtle of Pignerol, for having privately married the princeſs, whom he had, a few months before, given him leave to marry publicly. He was ſhut up during the ſpace of ten years.

There are many kingdoms whoſe ſovereigns have

have not ſo conſiderable a power; thoſe that are inveſted with ſuch a one, are moſt beloved when they decline to make uſe of it. Should a citizen, who does not violate the laws of the ſtate, be ſo ſeverely puniſhed by him who repreſents the ſtate? Is there not a wide difference between offending one's ſovereign and betraying one's ſovereign? Should a king treat a man with more rigour than the law would treat him? Thoſe who have aſſerted that madam de Monteſpan *, who put a ſtop to this marriage, being irritated againſt the count de Lauſun for the bitter reproaches he uttered againſt her, exacted that vengeance, have done that monarch great injuſtice. It would have been a proof both of tyranny and puſillanimity, to ſacrifice to female reſentment a brave man and a favourite, who, after being deprived of an immenſe fortune by his maſter, had been guilty of no other crime but ſpeaking too freely of madam de Monteſpan.

I hope my readers will excuſe theſe reflections, which the natural rights of mankind oblige me to make; but at the ſame time equity requires, that as Lewis XIV. had not been guilty of an action of that nature during the whole courſe of his reign, he ſhould not be accuſed of ſo cruel a piece of injuſtice. He was certainly ſevere enough in puniſhing with ſuch rigour a clandeſtine marriage, an innocent union, which it would have been more prudent

* This imputation, which we meet with in ſo many hiſtorians, derives its origin from the Segraiſiana. It is a poſthumous collection of ſome converſations of Segrais, moſt of them falſified. It is replete with contradiction; and all the world knows that it is unworthy of credit.

in him to paſs over in ſilence. To withdraw his favour from Lauſun was but juſt, to impriſon him was too ſevere.

Thoſe who call this private marriage in queſtion, need only read the memoirs of mademoiſelle with attention. Theſe memoirs diſcover what ſhe endeavours to conceal. It appears from them, that this princeſs, who had complained ſo bitterly to the king when her marriage was forbid, did not dare to complain of her huſband's being impriſoned. She owns that ſhe was thought to be married; ſhe does not however aſſert that ſhe was not: and, if there was no proof of it but that expreſſion, "I neither can nor ought to change my ſentiments for him," it would be concluſive.

Lauſun and Fouquet were aſtoniſhed at meeting in the ſame priſon; but the latter, who in the height of his glory and power, had ſeen Péquilin mixed with the croud like a gentleman of no fortune from one of the provinces, thought him out of his ſenſes when he aſſured him that he had been the king's favourite, and had obtained leave to marry the grand-daughter of Henry IV. with all the wealth and the titles of the houſe of Montpenſier.

After having languiſhed ten years in priſon, he was at length releaſed; but it was not till after madam de Monteſpan had engaged mademoiſelle to confer the ſovereignty of Dombes and the county d'Eu, upon the duke of Maine, then an infant, who poſſeſſed them after the death of that princeſs. She made this donation merely through a hope that the duke of Lauſun would be acknowledged as her huſband; but ſhe was herein deceived: the king only allowed her to

to beſtow on her concealed and unfortunate huſband, the lands of St. Fargeau and Thiers, with other conſiderable revenues, which Lauſun found inſufficient. In a word, ſhe was obliged to be ſatisfied with being his wife in private, and to ſuffer herſelf to be neglected by him in public. This princeſs become unhappy at court and unhappy at home, which is the ordinary effect of violent paſſions, died in the year 1693*.

As for the count of Lauſun, he afterwards went over to England in 1688. Being fated to extraordinary adventures, he conducted to France the queen of James II. and her ſon, then

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* At the and of the memoirs above mentioned is printed a hiſtory of the amours of Modemoiſelle and Monſ. de Lauſun. It is the work of ſome valet de chambre. Verſes are ſubjoined of a piece with the hiſtory, and with all the abſurdities which the Dutch bookſellers have long had a ſort of a privilege to impoſe upon the world.

We ſhould place in the ſame claſs moſt of the ſtories concerning Mademoiſelle to be met with in the memoirs of madam de Maintenon: It is there ſaid, that in the year 1681, one of the miniſters of the duke of Lorraine came diſguiſed like a beggar, and preſenting himſelf before Mademoiſelle in church, ſhewed her a prayer-book upon which was written; "From the duke of Lorraine:" and that he afterwards endeavoured to prevail on her to declare the duke her heir. Vol. II. page 204. This fable is copied from the adventure of queen Clotilde, whether true or falſe. Mademoiſelle takes no notice of it in her memoirs, in which ſhe ſeldom omits little circumſtances. The duke of Lorraine had no manner of pretenſions to the ſucceſſion of Mademoiſelle: add to this, that ſhe had in 1679 appointed the duke of Maine and the count of Toulouſe her heirs.

The author of theſe wretched memoirs ſays, in page 207, that the duke of Lauſun at his return looked upon Mademoiſelle in no other light, but as a woman inflamed by an impure paſſion. She was his wife, and he himſelf acknowledged it. It is hardly poſſible to write a greater number of falſhoods in a more indecent ſtile.

in the cradle. He was created duke. He commanded in Ireland with but indifferent ſucceſs; and returned more celebrated for his adventures than eſteemed for his perſonal merit. We have ſeen him die in a very advanced age, quite forgotten, as is generally the caſe with thoſe who have been concerned in important events, without having performed great exploits.

Madam de Monteſpan however was all-powerful at court, at the beginning of the intrigues juſt ſpoken of.

Athenais de Mortemar, wife to the marquis de Monteſpan, her elder ſiſter the marchioneſs de Thiange, and her younger ſiſter, for whom ſhe obtained the abby of Fontevraud, were the fineſt women of that age; and all three added the moſt refined and lively wit to their perſonal attractions. Their brother, the duke of Vivonne, marſhal of France, was one of the moſt eminent men at court, both for taſte and learning. The king happened one day to aſk him, What advantage is there in reading? the duke, who was fat and of a ruddy complexion, anſwered, "Reading has the ſame effect upon the mind that partridges have upon my cheeks."

Theſe four were univerſally admired for a happy turn of converſation, which united humour, ſimplicity, and refinement, and went by the appellation of the Mortemars wit. They all wrote with inexpreſſible eaſe and grace. This ſufficiently ſhews the abſurdity of a ſtory which I have heard repeated over and over, that madam de Monteſpan was obliged to employ madam Scarron to write her letters; and that ſhe thereby became her rival, and afterwards ſupplanted her.

It is true indeed madam Scarron, Since madam de Maintenon, had more acquired knowledge, and her converſation was more agreeably inſinuating. There are letters of hers extant, wherein art embelliſhes nature, and which are wrote with the utmoſt elegance of ſtile. But madam de Monteſpan had no occaſion for the aſſiſtance of another's wit; and ſhe was long poſſeſſed of the king's favour before madam de Maintenon was preſented to him.

Madam de Monteſpan's glory was in its brighteſt luſtre at the time of the king's journey into Flanders in 1670. The ruin of the Dutch was planned during this journey, in the midſt of pleaſures. It was a continual feſtival, attended with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence.

The king, who generally went upon an expedition on horſeback, upon this occaſion went in a coach. Poſt-chaiſes were not invented till afterwards. The queen, madam her ſiſter-in-law, and the marchioneſs de Monteſpan, were in this magnificent equipage, which was followed by many others; and when madam de Monteſpan went alone, ſhe had four of the king's guards to attend her. Then the dauphin came with his retinue, and mademoiſelle with hers: this was before the fatal affair of her marriage: ſhe, in perfect peace of mind, partook of all theſe triumphs, and ſaw with ſecret ſatisfaction her lover, who was the king's favourite, at the head of his company of guards. The fineſt moveables of the crown were carried into the towns where the king paſſed the night. In every city the court paſſed through, there was either a ball or fire-works. The king was ac-

companied by all the troops of his houſhold, and all his domeſtics went before or followed. A public table was kept at St. Germain. In this pomp the court viſited all the conquered towns. The chief ladies of Bruſſels and Ghent came to ſee this magnificent proceſſion. The king invited them to his table, and with great generoſity made them preſents. All the officers of the troops in garriſon received gratifications. There was frequently no leſs than fifteen hundred lewis-d'ors a day ſpent in liberalities.

All the honours and diſtinctions were intended for madam de Monteſpan, except what duty exacted for the queen; yet that lady was not in the ſecret of the expedition. The king knew how to make a diſtinction between pleaſure and ſtate-affairs.

The king's ſiſter, who was alone entruſted with the care of uniting two kings, and bringing about the deſtruction of Holland, embarked at Dunkirk aboard the fleet of the king of England, Charles II. her brother. She carried with her mademoiſelle Kerowal, afterwards dutcheſs of Portſmouth, whoſe beauty was not inferior to that of madam de Monteſpan. She afterwards became, in England, what madam de Monteſpan was in France, but with greater credit. King Charles was governed by her to the laſt moment of his life; and though he was by no means conſtant to her; ſhe always preſerved her aſcendant over him. No woman's beauty was ever more laſting than hers; when near the age of ſeventy, ſhe had ſomething noble and pleaſing in her countenance, which years could not efface.

The

The king's ſiſter went to ſee her brother at Canterbury, and returned with the glory of being ſucceſsful. She had not long enjoyed it when a ſudden and painful death carried her off, at the age of twenty-ſix, on the 30th of June, 1670. The court was ſeized with grief and conſternation, aggravated by the manner of her death. The princeſs thought ſhe had been poiſoned. Montague, the Engliſh ambaſſador, was convinced of it, the court ſcarce doubted it, and it was the received opinion all over Europe. One of her huſband's old domeſtics told me the name of the perſon who, as he thought, gave the poiſon. "This man, ſaid he, whoſe circumſtances were but narrow, immediately afterwards retired into Normandy, where he purchaſed an eſtate, upon which he lived a long time in opulence." The poiſon, added he, was a diamond reduced to powder, and ſtrewed over ſtrawberries, inſtead of ſugar. The court and city were of opinion that the princeſs was poiſoned with a glaſs of ſuccory * water; after which ſhe felt inſupportable pangs, and in a ſhort time died in convulſions.

But the malice of mankind, and a love for the marvellous, were the ſole cauſes of this general perſuaſion. There could have been no poiſon in the glaſs of water, ſince madam de la Fayette and another perſon drank the remainder of it, without being in the leaſt affected. The

* See the hiſtory of the Princeſs Henrietta of England, written by the counteſs de la Fayette, page 171, of the edition publiſhed in 1742.

powder of diamond * is no more poiſonous than the powder of coral. The princeſs had been a long time troubled with an abſceſs formed in her liver. She was in a very bad ſtate of health, and had even been brought to-bed of a child entirely putrified. Her huſband, who has been but too much ſuſpected all over Europe, was never accuſed of any crime of a black dye either before or after this event: and there are but few inſtances of criminals who have been guilty of only one inhuman action. The human ſpecies would be indeed unhappy, if atrocious deeds were as often committed as believed.

It was ſaid that the chevalier of Lorraine, a favourite of the duke of Orleans, had recourſe to this horrible vengeance, on account of his being baniſhed and impriſoned for his ill behaviour to the princeſs. People do not reflect that the chevalier of Lorraine was then at Rome, and that it is difficult for a knight of Malta, of twenty years of age, to occaſion, when at Rome, the death of a great princeſs at Paris.

It is but too true, that a weakneſs and indiſcretion of the viſcount de Turenne was what firſt gave riſe to theſe invidious reports, which men take a pleaſure in reviving. At the age of ſixty he was the lover and the dupe of madam

* Small bits of diamond and glaſs might, by their ſharp points, pierce and tear the coats of the inteſtines: but then it would be impoſſible to ſwallow them, and the perſon would ſoon be rendered ſenſible of the danger by the excoriation of the palate and throat. The powder, if very fine could not do any hurt, and would rather be a remedy, like the filings of iron. Thoſe phyſicians who have added diamond to the number of poiſons, ſhould have made a diſtinction between a diamond reduced to very fine powder, and a diamond ſcarcely pounded.

Coat-

Coatquen, as he had been before of madam de Longueville. He diſcovered to that lady the ſecret of ſtate, which was concealed from the king's brother. Madam de Coatquen, who loved the chevalier of Lorraine, divulged it to her gallant, who informed the duke of Orleans of it. The family of this prince was infeſted by the bittereſt reproaches, and the moſt tormenting jealouſies. Theſe vexations began before the princeſs's voyage to England. The evil was aggravated by her return. The duke's ſallies of paſſion, and the frequent contentions of his favourites with the friends of the dutcheſs, filled the houſe with trouble and confuſion. The dutcheſs, a few days before her death, tenderly complained to the marchioneſs of Coatquen of the misfortunes which ſhe had occaſioned. That lady kneeled down by her bedſide, and bathing her hands with tears, anſwered only by theſe verſes from the tragedy of Winceſlaus:

J'allois——j'étais——l'amour a ſur moi tant d'empire
Je m'égare, Madame, & ne puis que vous dire.

I thought——I was——love reigns with boundleſs ſway—
In mazes loſt—I know not what to ſay!

The chevalier of Lorraine, who had cauſed all theſe diſſentions, was immediately ſent by the king to the priſon of Pierre Enciſe; the count Marſon, of the houſe of Lorraine, and the marquis, afterwards marſhal of Villeroi, were

were baniſhed. In a word, the natural death of this unhappy princeſs was looked upon as the conſequence of theſe miſunderſtandings.

The public perſuaſion of the dutcheſs of Orleans being poiſoned, was greatly confirmed by this crime's becoming prevalent in France at that juncture. Amidſt all the horrors of a civil war, this baſe method of revenge was never put in practice. This crime, by an unaccountable fatality, infected France at the time of its greateſt glory, and of pleaſures calculated to ſoften the manners of mankind, juſt as it gained ground in Rome during the moſt ſhining period of the common wealth.

Two Italians, one of whom went by the name of Exili, laboured for a long time in conjunction with an Italian apothecary named Glaſer, with a view of finding out the philoſopher's ſtone. The two Italians, having by this project loſt the little fortune they had, endeavoured to repair their folly by carrying on a criminal commerce. They ſecretly ſold poiſons. Confeſſion, one of the greateſt reſtraints upon human depravity, but which men frequently abuſe in a perſuaſion that they may commit crimes, and afterwards expiate them; confeſſion, I ſay, made it known to the chief penitentiary of Paris, that ſome perſons had died by poiſon. He gave immediate notice of this to the government. The two Italians, who were ſuſpected, were confined in the Baſtile: one of them died there. Exili continued in confinement without being convicted; and, from the midſt of a priſon he ſpread over Paris thoſe fatal ſecrets which coſt the civil-lieutenant Daubrai and his family their lives, and at laſt gave occaſion

occaſion to erecting the chamber of poiſons, commonly called the The fiery chamber.

Love was the original ſource of theſe ſhocking adventures. The marquis of Brinvilliers, ſon-in-law to the civil lieutenant Daubrai, lodged in his houſe* St. Croix, a captain in his regiment, who was remarkable for his agreeable perſon. His wife ſuggeſted to him the ill conſequences that this might produce. The huſband, however, was obſtinately bent upon having the young man live in the ſame houſe with his wife, who was young, handſome, and very ſuſceptible of love. The event was ſuch as might have been expected; they conceived a mutual paſſion for each other. The civil lieutenant, father of the marchioneſs, was ſevere and imprudent enough to cauſe the captain to be ſent to the Baſtile, when it would have been ſufficient to ſend him to his regiment. St. Croix unluckily happened to be confined in the ſame chamber with Exili. This Italian taught him to wreak his revenge. The conſequences, which are enough to make one ſhudder with horror, are univerſally known.

The marchioneſs did not make any attempt upon the life of her huſband, who conſidered with indulgence a paſſion of which he himſelf had been the cauſe; but her ardent deſire of vengeance impelled her to poiſon her father, her two brothers, and her ſiſter. Though guilty of ſuch execrable crimes, ſhe retained a ſenſe of religion: ſhe often went to confeſſion;

* In the hiſtory of Lewis XIV. publiſhed in the name of La Martiniere, he is called the Abbé de la Croix. This hiſtory, defective in every thing, confounds names, dates, and events.

and

and even when she was apprehended at Liege, a general confession written with her own hand was found upon her. This was not considered as a positive proof of her guilt, but only as a presumptive. It is not true that she made experiments of the efficacy of her powders in the hospitals, according to the popular report which has been adopted by the author of the remarkable trials, the work of a lawyer without employment, and calculated to amuse the vulgar. But it is true that both she and St. Croix had private connections with persons since accused of the same crimes. She was burnt in 1679, her head being first cut off. But this crime continued to infect Paris from 1670, when Exili began to compose poisons, till 1680. It cannot be concealed from the world that Pennautier, receiver-general for the clergy, and the friend of this woman, was accused some time after of having made use of these secrets, and that it cost him one half of his wealth to stifle the accusation.

La Voisin, la Vigoureux, a priest named le Sage, and others, dealt in Exili's secrets, under the pretext of amusing persons of curious and weak minds with the sight of apparitions. The crime was imagined to be more general than it really was. The Fiery chamber was established at the arsenal near the Bastile in 1680. Persons of the first quality were cited before it: amongst others, two nieces of cardinal Mazarin, the dutchess of Bouillon, and the countess of Soissons, mother to prince Eugene. They were not ordered into custody, as we are told in the history of Reboulet. He is not less mistaken when he asserts that the dutchess appeared before

fore her judges with ſo many friends, that ſhe would have been in no danger even if ſhe had been guilty. What friends could at that time have ſcreened any body from juſtice? The dutcheſs of Bouillon was accuſed of nothing but indulging an abſurd curioſity.

The counteſs of Soiſſons, who retired to Bruſſels, was charged with ſomething of a more ſerious nature. The marſhal of Luxembourg was confined in the Baſtile, and underwent a long examination, after which he remained fourteen months longer in priſon. It is eaſy to conjecture the ſhocking reports which theſe accuſations gave riſe to in Paris. At length upon la Voiſin and her accomplices being burnt alive, theſe crimes and inquiries diſcontinued. This abomination, however, was peculiar to ſome individuals, and did not corrupt the refined manners of the nation: but it left in the minds of men an unhappy propenſity to ſuſpect natural deaths of being occaſioned by violent means.

The ſame opinion which had been formed concerning the unhappy fate of Henrietta of England, dutcheſs of Orleans, was afterwards revived with reſpect to her daughter Mary Louiſa, who was married in 1679 to Charles II. king of Spain. That young princeſs ſet out for Madrid with regret. Mademoiſelle had often ſaid to the duke of Orleans, brother to the king, "Do not carry your daughter ſo often to court; ſhe will be too unhappy elſewhere." This young princeſs was deſirous of marrying the Dauphin. "I make you queen of Spain, ſaid the king, what more could I do for my daughter?" "Ah! returned ſhe, you might do much more

more for your niece." She died in the year 1689, at the ſame age as her mother. It was looked upon as an inconteſtible truth that the Auſtrian council of Charles II. was deſirous of removing her out of the way, becauſe ſhe loved her country, and might prevent the king her huſband from declaring for the allies, againſt France. A ſort of counter-poiſon was ſent her from Verſailles; but theſe remedies are very precarious, ſince what may cure one diſorder occaſioned by poiſon, may increaſe another; and there is no univerſal antidote. The pretended counter-poiſon arrived after her death. Thoſe who have read the memoirs compiled by the marquis Dangeau, will find therein that the king ſaid at ſupper, "The queen of Spain has been poiſoned by eating of an eel-pye; and the counteſs of Pernitz, with the two attendants Zapata and Nina, eating of it after her, have loſt their lives by the ſame poiſon."

After having read this extraordinary anecdote in theſe manuſcript memoirs, which are ſaid to have been wrote with care by a courtier, who had ſcarce ever quitted Lewis XIV. during the ſpace of forty years, I ſtill entertain ſome doubt: I enquired of the king's ancient domeſtics, whether it was true that a monarch always ſo reſerved in his diſcourſe had expreſſed himſelf in ſo indiſcrete a manner. They all aſſured me that nothing could be more falſe. I aſked the dutcheſs of St. Pierre, upon her return from Spain, whether the three perſons above-mentioned had died at the ſame time with the queen; ſhe gave me convincing proofs that they had all three long ſurvived their miſtreſs. In a word, I made a diſcovery that theſe me-

memoirs of the marquis Dangeau were nothing more than a collection of news, wrote by one of his footmen; and this may be very eaſily perceived by the ſtile, the trifling circumſtances, and the falſhoods with which it abounds. After all theſe diſmal ideas, to which the death of Henrietta of England has led us, we muſt now return to thoſe events by which her loſs was followed at court. The princeſs-palatine ſucceeded her a year after, and was mother to the duke of Orleans, afterwards regent of the kingdom. She was under the neceſſity of abjuring Calviniſm, in order to marry the duke of Orleans; but ſhe always retained a ſecret veneration for her own religion, which is not eaſily ſhaken off, when it has been impreſſed upon the mind from infancy.

The unfortunate adventure of one of the queen's maids of honour in 1673, gave riſe to a new inſtitution. This misfortune is well known by the ſonnet of the abortion, which has been ſo frequently cited.

Toi que l'amour fit par un crime,
Et que l'honneur defait par un crime à ſon tour,
Funeſte ouvrage de l'amour,
De l'honneur funeſte victime, &c.

O thou! who dy'ſt imperfect and unborn,
Sad compound of creation and decay,
Embrio unform'd, deny'd the light of day,
Of blank and being the reproach and ſcorn,
Produc'd by guilty love's impetuous tide,
By guilty honour in its turn deſtroy'd,
The fatal work of love by ſtealth enjoy'd,
The hapleſs victim of ſtern honour's pride:

O let

O let me calm the tempeſt of my breaſt;
For thou in dark oblivion's ſhade at reſt
Feel'ſt not theſe horrors of internal ſtrife.
In the two rival pow'rs their empire prove,
Love in deſpite of honour gave thee life;
But honour ſlew thee in deſpite of love.

The dangerous ſituation of maid of honour in a gay and voluptuous court, occaſioned twelve ladies of the bed chamber to be ſubſtituted in the room of the twelve maids of honour; and this regulation has ever ſince continued in the queen's houſhold. This inſtitution rendered the court more numerous and magnificent, by fixing there the huſbands and relations of theſe ladies, which increaſed the number of thoſe who attended the court, and made it more brilliant.

The princeſs of Bavaria, who had eſpouſed the dauphin, at this time added luſtre and vivacity to the court. The marchioneſs of Monteſpan always attracted the chief attention: but at laſt ſhe ceaſed to pleaſe: and her violent emotions of grief by no means conciliated the almoſt alienated affection of the monarch. However, her connection with the court always continued, as ſhe was poſſeſſed of a conſiderable place there being ſuperintendant of the queen's houſhold. Her connexion with the king ſubſiſted likewiſe, by means of the children he had by her, the force of habit, and the aſcendant ſhe had acquired.

She retained all the outward ſhew of eſteem and friendſhip, but that was no conſolation to her; and the king afflicted at being the occaſion of her frequent inquietudes, and inſpired by

by another paſſion, began already to find a pleaſure in converſing with madame de Maintenon, which he no longer enjoyed with his former miſtreſs. He found himſelf at once divided between madam de Monteſpan, whom he could not forſake, mademoiſelle Fontagne, whom he loved, and madam de Maintenon, whoſe converſation was become neceſſary to his diſtracted mind. The rivalſhip of theſe three kept the whole court in ſuſpence. It reflects great honour upon Lewis XIV. that none of theſe intrigues had any influence upon public affairs; and that love, which diſturbed the court, never cauſed the leaſt diſturbance in the kingdom. There cannot, in my opinion, be a better proof that the ſoul of Lewis was as great as it was tender.

I ſhould even look upon theſe court-intrigues, which have no ſort of connexion with ſtate-affairs, as undeſerving of a place in this hiſtory, if the name of Lewis XIV. did not render every thing intereſting, and if the veil had not been removed from thoſe myſteries by ſeveral hiſtorians, who have for the moſt part diſfigured them.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXCIX.

Continuation of the Private MEMOIRS and ANECDOTES.

THE youth and beauty of mademoiſelle de Fontagne, the birth of a ſon, whom ſhe bore to the king in 1680, and the title of dutcheſs with which ſhe was graced, all conſpired to prevent madame de Maintenon from obtaining the firſt place; to which, as yet, ſhe durſt not aſpire, and which ſhe afterwards poſſeſſed: but the dutcheſs of Fontagne and her ſon died in 1681.

The marchioneſs de Monteſpan, having now no declared rival, was no longer able to preſerve a heart, wearied with her and her eternal complainings. When men are paſt the vigour of youth, they almoſt all require the company of an agreeable woman: the weight of public affairs, eſpecially, renders ſuch a relaxation extremely neceſſary. The new favourite, madame de Maintenon, who perceived the ſecret power ſhe was daily acquiring, conducted herſelf with that artful addreſs which is ſo natural to the female ſex, and is by no means diſpleaſing to the male. She one day wrote to madame de Frontenac, her couſin, in whom ſhe repoſed the moſt perfect confidence, "When he leaves me, he is always in affliction; but never in deſpair." While her intereſt was thus increaſing, and that of madame de Monteſpan drawing towards an end, the two rivals ſaw each other every day, ſometimes with a ſecret uneaſineſs, and ſometimes with a tranſient familiarity, which the neceſſity of converſing together, and the fatigue of per-

perpetual conſtraint, obliged them to aſſume. They both agreed to write Memoirs of all that paſſed at court *. The work was never brought to any degree of perfection. Madam de Monteſpan was wont, in the latter years of her life, to divert herſelf in reading ſome of theſe memoirs to her friends. That ſpirit of devotion, which mingled itſelf in all theſe ſecret intrigues, contributed ſtill more to ſtrengthen the influence of madame de Maintenon, and to weaken that of madame de Monteſpan. The king began to reproach himſelf for his attachment to a married woman, and felt this ſcruple the more ſenſibly as he no longer felt the power of love. Things continued in this ſtate of perplexity until 1685, a year rendered memorable by the revocation of the edict of Nants. Scenes of a very different nature were then preſented to the public view: on the one hand, the deſpair and flight of a part of the nation; on the other, new feaſts at Verſailles; Trianon and Marli built; Nature forced in all theſe beautiful ſpots, and gardens formed

* The Memoirs, publiſhed under the name of Mad. de Maintenon, relate, that ſhe ſaid to madame de Monteſpan, in ſpeaking of her dreams, "I dreamed that we were on the grand ſtair-caſe of Verſailles: I was aſcending, you was deſcending; I mounted to the clouds, you went to Fontevraut." This ſtory is borrowed from the famous duke d'Epernon, who met the cardinal de Richlieu on the ſtair-caſe of the Louvre in 1624. The cardinal aſked him, "What news?" "None, ſaid he, except that you are going up, and I am coming down." But the beauty of the alluſion is deſtroyed by adding, that from a ſtair-caſe one could mount to the clouds. It is to be remarked, that in moſt books of anecdotes, in the æra, the authors always aſcribe to their ſpeakers things that have been ſaid a century, or even ſeveral centuries before.

with all the taſte and elegance that art could beſtow. The marriage of the grandſon of the great Condé with mademoiſelle de Nantes, the king's daughter by madam de Monteſpan, was the laſt triumph of that miſtreſs, who now began to retire from court.

The king afterwards diſpoſed in marriage of other two children, whom he had by the ſame lady; to wit, mademoiſelle de Blois to the duke de Chartres, whom we have ſince ſeen regent of the kingdom; and the duke de Maine to Louiſa Benedicta de Bourbon, grand-daughter of the great Condé, and ſiſter to the preſent duke, a princeſs diſtinguiſhed by her wit, and her taſte for the polite arts. Thoſe who have ever approached the royal palace, or the palace de Sceaux, know that all the popular reports relating to her marriage, and retailed in ſo many hiſtories, are abſolutely falſe and groundleſs. You will find it reported in more than twenty different volumes, that the houſe of Orleans and the houſe of Condé rejected the propoſals with indignation: you will find it written, that the princeſs, the duke de Chartres's mother, threatened her ſon; nay, that ſhe even beat him. The anecdotes of the Conſtitution relate, with a very ſerious air, that the king having employed the abbé du Bois, ſub-precepter to the duke de Chartres, to negociate the match, the abbé found great difficulty in ſucceeding; and that he aſked the cardinal's hat as a reward for his labour. Whatever relates to the court is written with as little regard to truth in ſeveral of our modern hiſtories.

Before the marriage between the duke and mademoiſelle de Nantes was celebrated, the marquis

quis de Seignelai gave the king an entertaiment worthy of that monarch in the gardens de Sceaux, laid out by Le Notre with as much taſte and elegance as thoſe of Verſailles; and the entertainment was embelliſhed by a repreſentation of the l'Idylle de la Paix, compoſed by Racine. There was another carouſal at Verſailles; and, after the marriage, the king diſplayed a ſcene of uncommon magnificence, of which cardinal Mazarin had given the firſt ſpecimen in 1656. There were placed in the hall of Marli four ſhops, filled with all the richeſt and moſt exquiſite curioſities that the induſtry of the Pariſian artiſts could produce. Theſe four ſhops were ſo many ſuperb decorations, repreſenting the four ſeaſons of the year. Madame de Monteſpan kept one of them with the Dauphin: her rival kept another with the duke de Maine. The two new-married noblemen had each his ſhop; the duke with madame de Thiange; and the dutcheſs, who, on account of her youth, could not decently keep a ſhop with a man, was with madame de Chevreux. The ladies and gentlemen, who were named for this excurſion, drew by lot the jewels with which theſe ſhops were adorned. Thus the king made preſents to all his court, in a manner worthy of himſelf. The lottery of cardinal Mazarin was neither ſo ingenious, nor ſo brilliant. Theſe lotteries had formerly been uſed by the Roman emperors; but none of them ever thought of heightening their magnificence by ſuch an air of gallantry.

After the marriage of her daughter, madame de Monteſpan appeared no more at court. She continued to live at Paris with great dignity. She had a large annuity ſettled upon her for life;

the king ordered a penſion of a thouſand louis-d'ors to be paid her every month. She went yearly to drink the waters at Bourbon; and married the young women in the neighbourhood, to whom ſhe gave portions. She was now paſt the age when the imagination, ſtruck with lively impreſſions, ſends people to a nunnery. She died at Bourbon in 1707.

About a year after the marriage of mademoiſelle de Nántes with monſieur the duke, the prince of Condé died at Fontainbleau, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age. His death was occaſioned by a diſeaſe, which was rendered more violent by a journey he took to viſit the dutcheſs, who was ſeized with the ſmall-pox. From this anxious concern for the ſafety of the dutcheſs, which coſt him his life, one may eaſily judge whether he had any averſion to the marriage of his grandſon with the daughter of the king and of madame de Monteſpan, as has been reported by all thoſe lying gazettes with which Holland was then over-run. We even find, in a hiſtory of the prince of Condé, produced from the ſame repoſitories of ignorance and impoſture, that the king took a pleaſure in mortifying that prince on all occaſions; and that, at the marriage of the princeſs of Conti, daughter to madame de la Valiere, the ſecretary of ſtate refuſed him the title of High and Mighty Lord, as if that were a title commonly given to princes of the blood. But how could the author, who compoſed the hiſtory of Louis XIV. in Avignon, partly from theſe wretched memoirs, be ſo ignorant of the world, and of the cuſtom of our court, as to relate the like falſhoods?

Mean

Mean while, after the marriage of the dutcheſs, and the total eclipſe of the mother, madame de Maintenon, victorious over all oppoſition, gained ſuch an aſcendant, and inſpired Lewis XIV. with ſo much love, and ſo many ſcruples of conſcience, that, by the advice of father de la Chaiſe, he married her privately in the month of January, 1686, in a little chapel, which ſtood at the end of the apartment that was afterwards poſſeſſed by the duke of Burgundy. There was no contract, nor any articles of marriage. Harlai de Chamvalon, archbiſhop of Paris, aſſiſted by the confeſſor, gave them the nuptial benediction. Montchevreuil ‡, and Bontems, firſt valet de chambre, were preſent as witneſſes. It is no longer poſſible to ſuppreſs this fact, which has been mentioned by ſo many authors, who have been miſtaken, however, with regard to the names, the place, and the dates. Lewis XIV. was then in his forty-eighth year, and the lady he married in her fifty-ſecond. This king already covered with glory, was deſirous of mingling the innocent pleaſures of a private life with the cares of ſtate. The marriage did not en-

‡ And not the chevalier de Fourbin, as the Memoirs of Choiſy aſſert. None are intruſted with ſuch a ſecret but faithful domeſtics, and people attached by their places to the perſon of their maſter. There was no formal act of celebration: that is only employed to prove the reality of the wedding; but the preſent marriage was a marriage of conſcience. How could any one have the impudence to report, that after the death of Harlai, archbiſhop of Paris, which happened in 1695, almoſt ten years after the marriage, his lackeys found the form of the marriage ceremony in his old breeches? This ſtory, which is even too mean for lackeys, is only to be found in the Memoirs of Maintenon.

gage him in any thing unworthy of his rank; and it was always a doubtful point at court, whether madame de Maintenon was married or not. She was reſpected as the choice of the king; but never treated as queen.

We are apt to conſider the fate of this lady as ſomething very ſurpriſing, though hiſtory ſupplies us with many inſtances of greater and more diſtinguiſhed fortunes, which had a meaner and lower origin. The marchioneſs de St. Sebaſtian, married to Victor-Amadeus, king of Sardinia, was not ſuperior to madame de Maintenon; Catherine, empreſs of Ruſſia, was greatly inferior; and the firſt wife * of James II. king of England, was far beneath her, according to the prejudices of Europe, unknown in other parts of the world.

She was of an ancient family, and granddaughter to Theodore-Agrippa d'Aubigne, gentleman of the bed chamber to Henry IV. Her father, Conſtant d'Aubigné, having formed a deſign in ſettling in Carolina, and having applied to the Engliſh for that purpoſe, was thrown into priſon in the caſtle Trompette; from whence he was delivered by the daughter of the governor, whoſe name was de Cardillac, a gentleman of Bourdelois. Conſtantius d'Aubigné married his benefactreſs in 1627, and carried her along with him to Carolina: but returning to France, in a few years after, they were both committed to cuſtody, at Niort in Poitou, by order of the

* What! was the daughter of the great earl of Clarendon, lord high chancellor of Great-Britain, and prime miniſter to king Charles II. inferior in rank to the widow of poor Scarron the burleſque poet? Sure our author has forgot himſelf on this occaſion.

court. It was in this priſon of Niort that Frances d'Aubigné was born in 1635: a woman deſtined by heaven to ſuffer all the hardſhips, and to enjoy all the favours of fortune. Carried to America at three years of age; left on the ſhore by the negligence of a ſervant, where ſhe was on the point of being devoured by a ſerpent; brought back an orphan at ten years of age; educated with great ſeverity in the houſe of madame de Neuillant, her relation, and mother to the dutcheſs de Navailles. She was ſo happy as to marry, in 1651, Paul Scarron, who lived near her in Hell-ſtreet. Scarron was of an ancient family belonging to the parliament, and illuſtrious by its great alliances: but the character of a wit, and of burleſque writer, which he bore, leſſened his dignity, at the ſame time that it made him more generally beloved. It was however, a very lucky incident for mademoiſelle d'Aubigné to get this man for a huſband, deformed and impotent as he was, and poſſeſſed of but a ſmall fortune. Before her marriage, ſhe abjured the Calviniſtical religion, which was her own as well as that of her anceſtors. Her beauty and her wit were ſuch, that ſhe ſoon began to be diſtinguiſhed. Her acquaintance was eagerly courted by the beſt company in Paris; and this part of her youth was doubtleſs the happieſt time of her life *. After her huſband's death, which hap-

* It is ſaid, in the pretended Memoirs of Maintenon, tom. i. p. 216, that for a long time ſhe lay in the ſame bed with the celebrated Ninon Lenclos, according to the hearſay reports of the abbé de Chateauneuf, and of the author of the Age of Lewis XIV. But there is not a ſyllable of ſuch an anecdote to be found in the author of the Age of Lewis.

happened in 1660, ſhe continued long to ſolicit the king for a ſmall penſion of fifteen hundred livres, which Scarron had enjoyed. At laſt, after ſome years had elapſed, the king gave her a penſion of two thouſand; addreſſing her at the ſame time in the following ſtrain, "Madam, I have made you wait long; but you have ſo many friends, that I was determined to have all the merit of this action to myſelf."

This anecdote I had from the cardinal de Fleury, who took a pleaſure in frequently repeating it, becauſe he ſaid that Lewis XIV. paid him the ſame compliment when he gave him the biſhopric of Frejus.

And yet it appears, from the letters of madame de Maintenon herſelf, that ſhe was indebted to madame de Monteſpan for this ſmall ſupply, which delivered her from extreme poverty. She was taken farther notice of ſome years after, when there was a neceſſity for educating privately the duke de Maine, whom the king had in 1670 by the marchioneſs de Monteſpan. It was not ſurely until the year 1672 that ſhe was choſen to ſuperintend this private education. She ſays, in one of her letters, "If the children are

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Lewis XIV. nor in the remaining works of the abbé de Chateauneuf. The author of Maintenon's Memoirs quotes only at random. This circumſtance is mentioned no where, except in the Memoirs of the marquis de la Fare, p. 150, Amſterdam edition. It was a cuſtom, it is true, for people to ſhare their beds with their friends; and this cuſtom, which is now extinct, was very ancient, even at court. We find, in the Hiſtory of France, that Charles IX. in order to ſave the count de Briſſac from the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, adviſed him to ſleep at the Louvre in his bed, and that the duke of Guiſe and the prince of Condé lay together for a long time.

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the king's, I will chearfully undertake the taſk; but I would not willingly take the charge of madame de Monteſpan's children: the king muſt therefore give me orders: this is my laſt word." Madame de Monteſpan had not two children until 1672, the duke de Maine, and the count de Vexin. Hence it is evident, that the dates of madame de Maintenon's letters in 1670, in which ſhe ſpeaks of thoſe two children, one of whom was not yet born, muſt neceſſarily be falſe. Almoſt all the dates of theſe printed letters are equally erroneous. This inaccuracy would give one reaſon to ſuſpect the authenticity of theſe letters, did we not diſcover in them ſuch ſtrong marks of truth and ingenuity as it is almoſt impoſſible to counterfeit.

It is a matter of no great conſequence to know in what particular year this lady undertook the care of the natural children of Lewis XIV. but the attention given to theſe minute circumſtances may ſerve to ſhew with what ſcrupulous exactneſs we have related the principal events in this hiſtory.

The duke de Maine was born with a deformed foot. The firſt phyſician, d'Aquin, who was in the ſecret, adviſed to ſend him to the waters of Barege. Strict ſearch was made for a perſon of integrity, who might be intruſted with this precious charge. The king mentioned madame Scarron *. M. de Louvois went privately to Paris to make the propoſal to her. From that time

* The author of the romance, intituled the Memoirs of Mad. de Maintenon, makes her ſay, upon ſeeing the Chateau Trompetee, "There is the place where I was educated, &c." This is evidently falſe: ſhe was educated at Niort.

ſhe had the care of the duke de Maine's education, being appointed to that employment by the king, and not by madame de Monteſpan, as has been reported. She immediately wrote to the king, who was greatly charmed with her letters. Such was the beginning of her good fortune: her merit completed the reſt.

The king, who at firſt could not endure her company, paſſed by degrees from averſion to confidence, and from confidence to love. His letters, which ſtill remain, are a much more precious treaſure than is commonly imagined: they diſcover that mixture of religion and gallantry, of dignity and weakneſs, which is ſo frequently to be found in the human mind, and which filled the ſoul of Lewis XIV. The mind of madame de Maintenon ſeems, at once, to be inſpired with a true ambition, and a true devotion. Her confeſſor, Gobelin, approves equally of both: he is alike a director and a courtier. His penitent, though guilty of ingratitude to madame de Monteſpan, ſtill continues to diſſemble her crime. The confeſſor encourages the illuſion; and ſhe calls in religion to the aſſiſtance of her ſuperannuated charms, in order to ſupplant her benefactreſs, who is now become her rival.

This ſtrange mixture of love and ſcruples on the part of the king, and of ambition and devotion on the part of the new miſtreſs, ſeems to have continued from 1680 to 1686, which was the æra of their marriage.

Her elevation was only a retreat. Shut up in her apartment, which was on the ſame floor with that of the king, ſhe confined herſelf to the company of two or three ladies, who had retired like

like herſelf; and even theſe ſhe ſaw but ſeldom. The king went to her chamber every day after dinner, and before and after ſupper, and tarried with her until midnight. He there deliberated with his miniſters; while madame de Maintenon employed herſelf in reading, or in needle-work; never diſcovering the leaſt forwardneſs to talk of ſtate-affairs; frequently ſeeming to be ignorant of them; carefully avoiding every thing that might have the leaſt appearance of cabal or intrigue; more deſirous of pleaſing him that governed, than of governing herſelf; and huſbanding her intereſt with the greateſt œconomy, by never employing without extreme circumſpection. She did not avail herſelf of her place, to make all the dignities and great employments fall into her family. Her brother the count d'Aubigné, though an old lieutenant-general, was not even a marechal of France. A blue ribband *, and ſome appropriation in the farms of the public revenues, were his only fortune: hence it was that he ſaid to the marechal de Vivonne, brother to madame de Monteſpan, "that he had received his marechal's ſtaff in ready money ‡"

The marquis de Villette, her nephew, or her couſin, was only a commodore. Madame de Cailus, daughter to the ſame marquis de Villette, had but a very ſmall portion given her in marriage by Lewis XIV. Madame de Maintenon, when ſhe married her niece d'Aubigné to the

* The badge of a knight of the order of the Holy Ghoſt.

‡ See his Letters to his brother: "I beſeech you, ſays he, to live ſparingly, and to huſband the eighteen thouſand livres we have gained: we ſhall get more money when that is done."

ſon of the firſt marechal de Noailles *, gave her but two hundred thouſand livres; the king made up the reſt. She endeavoured to make the public excuſe her elevation, in favour of her diſintereſtedneſs. The wife of the marquis de Villette, and who was afterwards lady Bolingbroke, could obtain nothing from her. I have frequently heard her ſay, that ſhe upbraided her couſin with the little ſervice ſhe did her family; and that ſhe told her in a paſſion, "You obſtinately perſiſt to act up to your moderate plan, and your family muſt be the victim of your moderation." Madame de Maintenon forgot every thing, when ſhe was in the leaſt apprehenſive of offending Lewis XIV. She had not even the courage to ſupport cardinal de Noailles againſt father Le Tellier. She had a great friendſhip for Racine: but that friendſhip was not ſtrong enough to protect him againſt a ſlight reſentment of the king. One day being deeply affected with the eloquence with which he repreſented the calamities of the people in 1698, calamities which are always exaggerated, but which have ſince been carried to a deplorable pitch, ſhe prevailed upon her friend to draw up a memorial, pointing out the evil and the remedy. The king having read it, and ſhewn himſelf diſſatisfied with the contents, ſhe had the weakneſs to name the author, and to promiſe not

* The compiler of Maintenon's Memoirs ſays, tom iv. p. 200, "Rouſſeau, a venomous viper towards his benefactor, compoſed ſome lampoons upon the marechal de Noailles." This is falſe: we ought not to calumniate any one. Rouſſeau, who was then very young, did not know the firſt marechal de Noailles. The lampoon was written by a gentleman of the name of Cabonat, who openly acknowledged himſelf to be the author.

to defend him. Racine, ſtill weaker, if poſſible, than her, was ſeized with exceſſive grief, which brought him to the grave *.

The ſame diſpoſition that rendered her incapable of doing a ſervice, made her likewiſe incapable of doing an injury. The abbé de Choiſy relates, that the miniſter Louvois fell on his knees before Lewis XIV. in order to diſſuade him from marrying the widow Scarron. If the abbé de Choiſy knew this fact, madame de Maintenon was not ignorant of it; and yet ſhe not only forgave that miniſter, but ſhe even appeaſed the firſt tranſports of paſſion into which the blunt behaviour of the marquis de Louvois ſometimes threw his maſter ‡.

Hence

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* This fact is related by the ſon of the illuſtrious Racine, in his Life of his father.

‡ Who would imagine, that, in the Memoirs of madame de Maintenon, tom. iii. p. 237, it ſhould be ſaid that this miniſter was afraid of being poiſoned by the king. Strange! that at Paris we ſhould publiſh horrid falſhoods at the end of ſo many ridiculous fables.

This ſtupid and ſhocking ſtory is founded on a common report, which was ſpread abroad after the death of the marquis de Louvois. This miniſter was uſing the waters, which Seron his phyſician had preſcribed to him, and which La Ligerie his ſurgeon made him drink. This is the ſame Ligerie who gave the public the remedy which is now called the Poudre des Chartreux. This La Ligerie hath frequently told me, that he apprized M. de Louvois of the great riſk he ran by labouring while he drank the waters. The miniſter, however, continued to attend upon buſineſs as uſual. He died ſuddenly on the 16th of July, 1691; and not in 1692, as the author of theſe falſe Memoirs aſſerts. La Ligerie opened his body, and found no other cauſe of his death than what he had foretold. Some people took it into their heads to ſuſpect that the phyſician Seron had poiſoned a bottle of theſe waters. We have ſeen how common theſe

Hence it appears, that Lewis XIV. in marrying madame de Maintenon, only gave himſelf an agreeable ſubmiſſive companion. The only public diſtinction that diſcovered her private elevation was, that at maſs ſhe occupied one of thoſe little pulpits, or gilded canopies, which ſeemed to be made for the king and queen. The devotion with which ſhe had inſpired the king, and which had contributed to facilitate her marriage,

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injurious ſuſpicions then were. It was pretended, that a neighbouring gentleman, whom Louvois had greatly provoked and abuſed, bribed the phyſician Seron. Some of theſe anecdotes are to be found in the Memoirs of the marquis de Fare, p. 249. The family of the marquis de Louvois did even impriſon a native of Lavay, who was a menial ſervant in the houſe; but this poor man, who was perfectly innocent, was ſoon releaſed. But if people ſuſpected, though very unreaſonably, that a prince, who was an enemy to France, endeavoured to take away the life of a miniſter of Lewis XIV. this ſurely could never be a reaſon for ſuſpecting Lewis himſelf of the ſame crime.

The ſame author, who, in the Memoirs of madame de Maintenon, hath collected ſuch a heap of falſhoods, alledges, in the ſame place, that the king ſaid, that he had got rid in one year of three men whom he could not endure; the marechal de la Feuillade, the marquis de Seignelai, and the marquis de Louvois. In the firſt place, M. de Seignelai did not die in 1691, but in 1690. In the ſecond place, to whom did Lewis XIV. who always ſpoke with great circumſpection, and like a gentleman: to whom did he addreſs theſe imprudent and hateful words? To whom did he diſcover ſuch a cruel and ungrateful heart? To whom could he ſay, that he was glad he had got rid of three men who had ſerved him with ſo much zeal and fidelity? Is it lawful thus to blacken, without the leaſt proof, without the leaſt appearance of probability, the memory of a king, who was always known to ſpeak with great prudence? Every ſenſible reader beholds with contempt and indignation theſe collections of lies, with which the public is crowded.

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became by degrees a real and deep ſenſe of religion, which was greatly ſtrengthened by age and wearineſs. She had already acquired, both with the king and the court, the character of a foundreſs, by aſſembling at Noiſi a number of young ladies of quality; and the king had appropriated the revenues of the abbey of St. Denis to this riſing community. St. Cyr was built at the end of the park of Verſailles in 1686. She gave this ſettlement a complete form, compoſed the regulations of it with Godet Deſmarêts, biſhop of Chartres, and was herſelf the ſuperior of the convent. She frequently went thither to paſs a few hours; and when I ſay that melancholy determined her to follow theſe amuſements, I only repeat her own words. Read what ſhe wrote to madame de la Maiſonfort, of whom mention is made in the chapter of Quietiſm.

"Why cannot I give you my experience? Why cannot I make you ſenſible of the melancholy that devours the Great, and of the difficulty they have to diſpoſe of their time? Do you not ſee that I die of lowneſs of ſpirits, though poſſeſſed of a more ſplendid fortune than ever I could have hoped to obtain? I have been young and handſome; I have taſted pleaſures; I have been univerſally beloved. In a more advanced age, I have paſſed ſome years in the participation of intellectual pleaſures: I am now arrived at the ſummit of fortune; and I aſſure you, my dear, that every condition leaves a horrid void in the ſoul*."

* This letter is authentic; and the author ſaw it in M S. before the ſon of the great Racine cauſed it to be printed.

Could

Could any thing undeceive men with regard to the pleaſures of an exalted ſtation, this letter certainly would do it. Madam de Maintenon, who had no other cauſe of uneaſineſs than the uniformity of her life in the company of a great king, ſaid one day to the count d'Aubigné her brother, "I can bear it no longer, I wiſh I were dead." The anſwer which her brother gave her is well known. "You have then got a promiſe, ſaid he, of being married to the Almighty."

Upon the king's death, ſhe retired wholly to St. Cyr. What is ſurpriſing is, that the king left her no fixed ſalary. He recommended her to the duke of Orleans. She only deſired a penſion of eight thouſand livres. This annuity was regularly paid her till her death, which happened on the fifteenth of April 1719. The author of her epitaph has affected too much to forget the name of Scarron: this name is not a diſgrace, and the omiſſion of it ſerves only to make one think that it is ſo.

The court became leſs gay and more ſerious, from the time that the king began to lead a retired life with madame de Maintenon; and the ſevere fit of ſickneſs he had in 1686, contributed ſtill more to deſtroy his taſte for thoſe ſplendid feaſts which he had hitherto celebrated almoſt every year. He was ſeized with a fiſtula in ano. The art of ſurgery, which under this reign had made greater progreſs in France than in all the reſt of Europe, was not yet ſufficiently acquainted with this diſtemper. The cardinal de Richlieu had died of it for want of proper treatment. The king's danger alarmed the whole nation. The churches were filled with

crowds

crowds of people, who, with tears in their eyes, implored the recovery of their ſovereign. This expreſſion of univerſal pity and lamentation was ſomewhat of a-kin to that which happened in the preſent age when his ſucceſſor's life was in danger at Metz in 1744. Theſe two epochas will ſerve as perpetual monuments to remind kings of what they owe to a people who love them with ſuch a warmth of affection.

As ſoon as Lewis XIV. felt the firſt attacks of his diſeaſe, his chief ſurgeon, Felix, went to the hoſpitals to ſearch for ſuch patients as were in the ſame condition. He conſulted the beſt ſurgeons; and, in conjunction with them, he invented ſome new inſtruments which abridged the operation, and rendered it leſs painful. The king ſuffered the operation without complaining: he cauſed his miniſters to hold a council at his bedſide the very ſame day; and that the news of his danger might occaſion no change of meaſures in the courts of Europe, he gave audience to the foreign ambaſſadors next day. To this fortitude of mind may be added the generoſity with which he rewarded Felix, to whom he gave an eſtate which was then worth fifty thouſand crowns.

After this the king went no more to the public ſhews. The dauphineſs of Bavaria, being ſeized with a deep melancholy, and oppreſſed with a lowneſs of ſpirits, which brought her to the grave in 1690, refuſed to join in any party of pleaſure, and obſtinately perſiſted to immure herſelf in her chamber. She was fond of learning: ſhe had compoſed ſome verſes; but in her melancholy ſhe was fond of nothing but ſolitude.

It was the convent of St. Cyr that revived the taſte for the polite arts. Madame de Maintenon entreated Racine, who had renounced the theatre for the court and Janſeniſm, to write a tragedy that might be acted by her pupils; and ſhe deſired the ſubject might be taken from the Bible. Racine compoſed Eſther. This piece, having been firſt repreſented in the convent of St. Cyr, was afterwards acted ſeveral times at Verſailles before the king in the winter 1689. The prelates and Jeſuits were eager to obtain a permiſſion of ſeeing this remarkable play.

It is ſomewhat ſurpriſing that this piece was, at this time uiniverſally approved; and that, two years after, Athaliah, which was acted by the ſame perſons, was as univerſally condemned. The caſe was quite the reverſe when theſe pieces were played at Paris, long after the author's death, and when all party-diſtinctions were utterly aboliſhed. Athaliah was repreſented in 1717, and was received, as it deſerved, with great applauſe; and Eſther, which was acted in 1721, excited no other feeling in the breaſts of the ſpectators than langour and wearineſs, and never appeared more. But there were now no courtiers ſo complaiſant as to recognize Eſther in madame de Maintenon, and ſo malicious as to diſcover Vaſhti in madame de Monteſpan, Haman in M. de Louvois, and eſpecially the Huegonots, who were perſecuted by that miniſter, in the proſcription of the Jews. The impartial public could diſcover nothing in that piece but a plot without probability, and incapable of intereſting the affections; and a frantic king, who had lived ſix months with his wife without knowing who ſhe was, and who having, without

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the leaſt pretext, given orders for butchering a whole nation, afterwards cauſed his favourite to be hanged with as little reaſon. But, notwithſtanding the imperfection of the plot, thirty lines of Eſther are of more value than many tragedies which have met with great ſucceſs. Theſe ingenious amuſements were revived in order to forward the education of Adelaid of Savoy, dutcheſs of Burgundy, who was brought to France at eleven years of age.

It is one of the many contradictions in our manners, that theatrical exhibitions ſhould be branded with a mark of infamy, and yet be conſidered as an amuſement the moſt noble and moſt worthy of perſons of royal birth. A little theatre was built in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon, on which the dutcheſs of Burgundy and the duke of Orleans played with ſuch perſons of the court as were moſt remarkable for their wit and abilities. The famous actor Baron gave them leſſons, and played with them. Moſt of the tragedies of Duché, valet de chambre to the king, were compoſed for this theatre; and the abbe Genet, almoner to the dutcheſs of Orleans, wrote ſome plays for the dutcheſs of Maine, which that princeſs and her court repreſented.

Theſe amuſements formed the taſte, and enlivened ſociety. How could the marquis de la Fare ſay in his Memoirs, that "after the death of the dauphineſs, all was play, confuſion, and impoliteneſs?" The courtiers frequently played in their excurſions to Marli and Fontainbleau, but never in the apartment of madame de Maintenon; and the court hath always been conſidered as the ſtandard of the moſt perfect poliſheneſs.

liteneſs. The dutcheſs of Orleans, then dutcheſs of Chartres, the dutcheſs of Maine, the princeſs of Conti, and Madame the dutcheſs, diſproved by their conduct what the marquis de la Fare aſſerts. This man, in the ſocial intercourſes of life, diſcovered the greateſt ſweetneſs of temper, and yet his writings may almoſt be conſidered as a ſatire. He was diſſatisfied with the government: he paſſed his time in a ſociety of men who made a merit of condemning the court; and this ſociety converted a man of a moſt amiable diſpoſition into an hiſtorian who is ſometimes unjuſt.

But neither he, nor any of thoſe who have cenſured Lewis XIV. with ſo much ſeverity, can deny that, till the battle of Hochſtet, he was the moſt powerful, the moſt magnificent, and the greateſt man in the world: for tho' there have been heroes, ſuch as John Sobieſki and the kings of Sweden, who have eclipſed him as a warrior, no one has ever been able to eclipſe him as a monarch. It muſt likewiſe be owned, that he ſupported and repaired his loſſes. He had failings; he committed faults; but would thoſe who condemn him have been able to equal him had they been in his place? *

The dutcheſs of Burgundy improved daily in beauty and in merit. The praiſes beſtowed upon her ſiſter in Spain inſpired her with an emula-

* If greatneſs of ſoul conſiſts in a love of pageantry, an oſtentation of faſtidious pomp, a prodigality of expence, an affectation of munificence, an inſolence of ambition, and a haughty reſerve of deportment, Lewis certainly deſerved the appellation of Great. Qualities which are really heroic, we ſhall not find in the compoſition of his character.

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tion, which redoubled her talent of pleaſing. She was not a perfect beauty; but ſhe had a countenance like that of her ſon, an air of grandeur, and a majeſtic ſtature. Theſe advantages were greatly embelliſhed by her wit, and ſtill more by her extreme deſire of meriting the praiſes of all the world. She was, like Henrietta of England, the idol and the pattern of the court, and poſſeſſed of a ſtill higher rank, as ſhe was on the point of aſcending the throne. France expected from the duke of Burgundy ſuch a government as the ſages of antiquity have figured to themſelves, but whoſe auſterity would be ſoftened by the virtues and accompliſhments of this princeſs, which were of a nature to be more ſenſibly felt than the philoſophy of her huſband. Every body knows how theſe hopes were fruſtrated. It was the fate of Lewis XIV. to ſee all his family periſh in France by premature deaths; his wife in the forty-fifth year of her age; his ſon in the fiftieth *; and in

* The author of the Memoirs of madame de Maintenon, tom. iv. in a chapter intitled, Mademoiſelle Choin, ſays, that the dauphin was in love with one of his own ſiſters, and that he afterwards married mademoiſelle Choin. Theſe popular reports are known to be falſe by every ſenſible man. One ſhould not only be a cotemporary, but ought likewiſe to be furniſhed with proofs before he ventures to advance ſuch anecdotes as theſe. There never was the leaſt evidence of the dauphin's having married mademoiſelle Choin. To revive, after the expiration of ſixty years, theſe common reports, ſo vague, ſo improbable, and ſo generally condemned, is not to write hiſtory; it is to compile at random the moſt ſcandalous falſhoods, in order to gain money. Upon what foundation has this writer the impudence to advance in page 244. that the dutcheſs of Burgundy ſaid to the prince her huſband, "If I were

in a year after he had loſt his ſon, he ſaw his grandſon the dauphin duke of Burgundy, the dauphineſs his wife, and their eldeſt ſon the duke of Brittany, carried to St. Denis in the ſame funeral car, in the month of April 1712; while the youngeſt of their children, who afterwards mounted the throne, was in his cradle at the point of death. The duke of Berry, brother to the duke of Burgundy, followed them two years after; and his daughter, at the ſame time, was carried from her cradle to her grave.

Theſe lamentable loſſes made ſuch a deep impreſſion on the minds of men, that I have ſeen ſeveral perſons in the minority of Lewis XV. who could not mention them without tears: but amidſt ſo many untimely deaths, the fate of him who ſeemed likely to fill the throne in a ſhort time, was moſt to be lamented.

The ſame ſuſpicion which prevailed at the death of Madame, and at that of Maria-Louiſa, queen of Spain, were now revived with double fury. The exceſs of the public grief might almoſt have excuſed the calumny, could any thing have excuſed it. It was unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that any one would have taken off, by a violent death, ſo many royal perſons, and yet have left alive the only one that could avenge them. The diſeaſe of which the dauphin of Burgundy and his wife and ſon died, was an epidemical purple fever. This diſtemper de-

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were dead, would you compoſe the third volume of your family?" He makes Lewis XIV. and all the princes and miniſters talk as if he had heard them. There is hardly a page in the memoirs that is not filled with ſuch barefaced lies, as juſtly excite the indignation of every virtuous perſon.

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ſtroyed more than five hundred perſons in Paris in the ſpace of a month. The duke of Bourbon, grandſon to the prince of Condé, the duke de la Tremouille, madame de la Vrilliere, and madame de Liſtenai, were ſeized with it at court. The marquis de Gondrin, ſon to the duke of Antin, died of it in two days. His wife, afterwards counteſs of Thouloufe, was at the point of death. This diſeaſe over-ran all France. It carried off in Lorraine the eldeſt ſon and daughter of Francis, that duke of Lorraine who was deſtined by heaven to be, one day, emperor, and to raiſe the houſe of Auſtria from its ſtate of depreſſion.

Mean while it was ſufficient that a phyſician called Bouden, a debauched, forward, and ignorant fellow, uſed the following expreſſion; "We do not underſtand ſuch diſeaſes." This, I ſay, was ſufficient to make calumny rage without controul.

The prince had a laboratory, and ſtudied chemiſtry, as well as ſeveral other arts; this was an unanſwerable proof. The clamour of the public was ſo terrible, one muſt have been a witneſs of it in order to believe it. Several pamphlets, and ſome wretched hiſtories of Lewis XIV. would eterniſe theſe ſuſpicions, did not men, who have had better opportunities of information, take pains to deſtroy them. I will venture to ſay, that as I have long been ſenſible of the injuſtice of mankind, I have made ſeveral inquiries to come at the truth; and the following account has been frequently repeated to me by the marquis de Canillac, one of the moſt worthy men in the nation, and intimately connected with the ſuſpected prince, of whom he

he had afterwards juſt reaſon to complain. The marquis de Canillac, amidſt all this public clamour, went to viſit him in his palace. He found him ſtretched at full length on the ground, bathed in tears, and frantic with deſpair. His chemiſt Homberg ran to the Baſtile, to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner; but no orders had been given to receive him, and accordingly he was not admitted. The prince himſelf (who would believe it!) in the exceſs of his grief, deſired to be taken into cuſtody, and to have an opportunity of clearing his innocence by a formal trial; and his mother joined him in demanding this cruel juſtification. The lettre de cachet was made out, but was not ſigned; and the marquis alone, amidſt this general fermentation, preſerved ſo much preſence of mind as to perceive the dangerous conſequences of ſuch a deſperate meaſure. He prevailed upon the prince's mother to oppoſe this ignominious lettre de cachet. The monarch who granted it, and the prince who demanded it, were equally unhappy *.

CHAP.

* The author of the Life of the duke of Orleans was the firſt that mentioned theſe cruel ſuſpicions. He was a Jeſuit of the name of La Motte, the ſame that preached at Rouen againſt this prince during his regency, and who afterwards took refuge in Holland under the name of La Hode. He was acquainted with ſome public facts. He ſays, tom. i. pag. 112, that the prince who was ſo unjuſtly ſuſpected, offered to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner; and this is very true. La Motte had no opportunity of knowing how M. de Canillac oppoſed this ſtep, which was ſo injurious to the prince's innocence. All the other anecdotes he relates are falſe. Reboulet, who copied him, ſays pag. 143, tom. viii. the youngeſt child of the duke

CHAP. CC.

Continuation of ANECDOTES.

LEWIS XIV. concealed his grief from the world, and appeared in public as uſual: but in private the pain of ſo many misfortunes pierced him to the heart, and threw him into con-

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duke and dutcheſs of Burgundy was ſaved by the counter-poiſon of Venice. There is no counter-poiſon of Venice that is thus given at random. Phyſic knows no general antidotes that cure a diſeaſe, the cauſe of which is unknown. All the ſtories which were ſpread abroad in the world at that unhappy time are no more than a collection of popular errors.

It is a falſhood of little conſequence in the compiler of the Memoirs of madame de Maintenon to ſay, that the duke of Maine was then at the point of death. It is a childiſh calumny to ſay, that the author of the age of Lewis XIV. rather confirms than deſtroys the credit of theſe ſtories.

Never was hiſtory diſgraced with more abſurd falſhoods than in theſe pretended memoirs. The author pretends to have wrote them in 1733. He takes it into his head to ſuppoſe that the duke and dutcheſs of Burgundy, and their eldeſt ſon, died of the ſmall pox. He advances this falſhood to give himſelf an opportunity to ſpeak of inoculation: an experiment that was not tried till the month of May 1756. Thus in the ſame page we find him ſpeaking in 1753, of what happened in 1756; and he expreſſes himſelf thus. "This 24th of April 1753, I was interrupted; an order came from the king to tear me from my family and myſelf." He then relates, how he was thrown into priſon; and accuſes perſons who never ſaw him of having informed the government againſt him. The ſame man, in the edition of the age of Lewis XIV. which he publiſhed at Frankfort in 1752, had attacked, in his notes, the memory of the duke of Orleans, pag. 346 and 347, tom ii. of this ſpurious edition.

Learning hath been infected with ſo many kinds of defamatory libels, and the Dutch have publiſhed ſo many falſe

convulſions. He met with all theſe domeſtic loſſes towards the concluſion of an unſucceſsful war, before he was ſure of obtaining a peace, and at a time when famine laid waſte the kingdom; and yet he was never ſeen to ſink under his afflictions.

The remaining part of his life was unhappy. The diſordered ſtate of the finances, which he was unable to rectify, alienated the minds of the people. The unbounded confidence he placed in father Le Tellier, a man of too violent paſſions, completed the diſguſt. It is very remarkable, that the public, who freely forgave him his love to his miſtreſſes, could never forgive him his attachment to his confeſſor. He loſt, during the laſt three years of his life, in the minds of moſt of his ſubjects, all the reſpect and eſteem he had gained by his great and memorable actions.

Deprived of almoſt all his children, his love, which was now redoubled to the duke of Maine and the count of Thouloufe, his legitimated ſons, carried him to declare them heirs to the crown, them and their deſcendants, in default of princes of the blood, by an edict that was regiſtered without oppoſiton in 1714. He thus tempered, by the law of nature, the ſeverity of poſitive laws, which deprive children born out of marriage, of all right of ſucceeding to their father's eſtate: but kings diſpenſe with this law. He thought he might ſafely do for his own blood what he had done for ſeveral of his ſub-

falſe memoirs, and injurious aſperſions on the government and people, that it is the duty of every faithful hiſtorian to caution the reader againſt the impoſture.

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jects. He imagined, particularly, that he might make the ſame eſtabliſhment for two of his children, which he had cauſed to be made in parliament for the princes of the houſe of Lorraine. He afterwards raiſed them to the ſame rank with princes of the blood in 1715. The ſuit commenced by the princes of the blood againſt the legitimated princes is well known. The latter preſerved for themſelves and their children, the honours conferred upon them by Lewis XIV. but the fate of their poſterity muſt depend on time, on merit, and on fortune. Lewis XIV. was ſeized about the middle of Auguſt, in 1715, on his return from Marli, with the diſeaſe that brought him to the grave. His legs were ſwelled; a mortification began to appear. The earl of Stairs, the Engliſh ambaſſador, laid a wager, according to the cuſtom of his country, that the king would not outlive the month of September. The duke of Orleans, who in his journey to Marli had no attendants, had now the whole court about him. An empiric, in the laſt days of the king's illneſs, gave him an elixir which revived his ſpirits. He eat, and the empiric affirmed he would recover. The crouds which ſurrounded the duke of Orleans began to deminiſh apace. "If the king eats a ſecond time, ſaid the duke of Orleans, I ſhall not have a ſingle perſon in my levee." But the diſeaſe was mortal. Meaſures were taken for giving the regency, with an abſolute authority, to the duke of Orleans. The king by his will, which was depoſited with the parliament, had left it to him under great limitations; or rather had only appointed him the head of a counſel of regency, in which he would only have had the caſting

vote: and yet he ſaid to him; "I have preſerved to you all the rights to which you are intitled by your birth" *. The reaſon was, that he did not believe there was a fundamental law in the kingdom which gives, during a minority, an abſolute power to the preſumptive heir of the crown. This ſupreme authority, which may be eaſily abuſed, is no doubt dangerous; but a divided authority is ſtill more dangerous. He imagined, that having been ſo faithfully obeyed during his life, he would be equally ſo after his death, not remembering that the will of his father had been violated.

Every body knows with what greatneſs of ſoul he beheld the approach of death. He ſaid to Madame de Maintenon, "I imagined it was more difficult to die;" and to his ſervants, "Why do you weep? did you think me immortal?" He gave orders about ſeveral things, and even about the funeral ſolemnity. Whoever has many witneſſes of his death, always dies with courage. Lewis XIII. in his laſt illneſs, ſet to muſic the pſalm De Profundis, which was to be ſung at his funeral. The fortitude of mind with which Lewis XIV. beheld his end, was diveſted of that glare of oſtentation which covered the reſt of his life. He

* In the Memoirs of madame de Maintenon, tom. v. pag. 194, it is ſaid, that Lewis XIV. intended to make the duke of Maine lieutenant-general of the kingdom. A man ſhould be furniſhed with authentic proofs before he ventures to advance a thing of ſuch extraordinary and important nature. The Duke of Maine would, in that caſe, have been above the duke of Orleans, which would have turned the Kingdom topſy-turvy; and hence we may infer that the aſſertion is falſe.

had

had the courage even to acknowledge his errors. His ſucceſſor hath always kept under his pillow the remarkable words which that monarch ſpoke to him as he ſat up in his bed and held him in his arms. Theſe words are not ſuch as have been repreſented in all former hiſtories. The following is a faithful copy:

"You are ſoon going to be the king of a great kingdom. What I would chiefly recommend to you, is never to forget the obligation you are under to God. Remember that you are indebted to him for all that you are. Endeavour to preſerve peace with your neighbours. I have been too fond of war; in this do not follow my example any more than in my too expenſive manner of living. Take councel in every thing. Endeavour to diſtinguiſh what is beſt, and always take care to purſue it. Relieve your ſubjects as much as you can, and do what I have been ſo unhappy as not to be able to do myſelf, &c."

This ſpeech contains nothing of that meanneſs of ſpirit which is aſcribed to him in ſome memoirs. He has been reproached for carrying ſome relics about him during the latter years of his life. His ſentiments of religion were noble and elevated; but his confeſſor, who was of a different character, had ſubjected him to ſome practices little conſiſtent with theſe ſentiments, and now diſuſed, in order to ſubject him the more abſolutely to his direction.

Though the life and death of Lewis XIV. were certainly glorious, yet was he leſs lamented than he deſerved. The love of novelty; the approach of a minority, in which every one hoped to make a fortune; the diſpute about

the conſtitution, which then exaſperated the minds of the people; all conſpired to make the news of his death be received with ſomething more than indifference. We beheld the ſame people, who in 1686, had importuned heaven with tears and ſighs for the recovery of their ſick monarch, follow his funeral proceſſion with demonſtrations of a very different nature. It is pretended, that the queen his mother ſaid to him when he was very young: "My ſon, imitate your grandfather and not your father." The king having aſked the reaſon; "becauſe, ſaid ſhe, the people wept at the death of Henry IV. and laughed at that of Lewis XIII."

Notwithſtanding he has been reproached with littleneſs of mind in his zeal againſt the Janſeniſts, with too much haughtineſs to foreigners in his proſperity, with too great indulgence to ſeveral women, and too great ſeverity in perſonal concerns, with wars undertaken without ſufficient reaſon, with the burning of the Palatinate, and the perſecution of the proteſtants, yet his great qualites and glorious actions being placed in the ſcale, have at laſt more than counterpoiſed all his imperfections. Time, which rectifies the opinions of mankind, has ſtamped his reputation with the ſeal of immortality; and in ſpite of all that has been written againſt him, his name will never be mentioned without reſpect, or without reviving the idea of an age for ever memorable. If we conſider him in his private character, we ſhall find him indeed too full of his own greatneſs; but withal affable, refuſing his mother a ſhare in the adminiſtration, but performing to her all the duties of a ſon, and obſerving the ſtricteſt rules of decency and decorum

decorum in his behaviour to his wife; a good father, a good maſter, always decent in public, laborious in the cabinet, exact in the management of his affairs, thinking juſtly, ſpeaking fluently, and amiable with dignity.

I have elſewhere * remarked, that he never ſpoke the words which have been aſcribed to him, when the firſt gentleman of the bed-chamder and the grand-maſter of the wardrobe were diſputing about the honour of ſerving him: "What does it ſignify which of my valets ſerve me?" Such a coarſe expreſſion could never be uſed by a man ſo polite and ſo conſiderate as Lewis XIV. and agreed but ill with what he afterwards ſaid to one of theſe gentlemen when talking of his debts: "Why do you not ſpeak to your friends;" Words of a very different meaning, and of great importance, being accompanied with a preſent of fifty thouſand crowns.

Nor is it true, that he wrote to the duke del Rochefoucault: "I make you my compliments as your friend, with regard to the poſt of grand-maſter of the wardrobe, which I give you as your king." The hiſtorians have done him the honour of this letter, not remembering how very indelicate and even cruel it is to tell a man, whoſe maſter you are, that you are his maſter. This would be very proper were a ſovereign writing to a rebellious ſubject; and Henry IV. might juſtly enough have ſaid it to the duke of Mayenne before a reconciliation was ef-

* All this is extracted from anecdotes printed among the miſcellanies of the ſame author, and founded upon this hiſtory.

fected. Roſe, ſecretary of the cloſet, wrote the letter; but the king had too much good ſenſe to ſend it. It was the ſame good ſenſe that made him ſuppreſs the pompous inſcriptions which Charpentier of the French academy affixed to the paintings of Le Brun in the gallery of Verſailles: "The incredible paſſage of the Rhine; the marvellous taking of Valenciennes, &c." The king thought that the taking of Valenciennes, and the paſſage of the Rhine, were more expreſſive. Charpentier was in the right to adorn with inſcriptions in our language the monuments of our country; flattery alone ſpoiled the execution.

Some ſmart anſwers, and witty expreſſions of this prince have been collected, which are reduceable to a very ſmall number. It is pretended that when he formed the deſign of aboliſhing Calviniſm in France, he ſaid, "My grandfather loved the Hugonots, and did not fear them; my father feared them but did not love them; for my own part, I neither love nor fear them."

Having given in 1658, the place of firſt preſident of the parliment of Paris to M. de Lamoignon, then maſter of requeſts, he ſaid to him, "Had I known a worthier man, or a better ſubject, I would have choſen him." He uſed much the ſame expreſſion to the cardinal de Noailles, when he gave him the archdiſhopric of Paris. What conſtitutes the merit of theſe words is, that they were true, and inſpired a principle of virtue.

It is ſaid, that a fooliſh preacher having one day pointed him out at Verſailles (a raſhneſs that is not allowable towards a private man, and

and far leſs towards a king) Lewis XIV. contented himſelf with ſaying to him, "Father, I like well enough to take my ſhare of a ſermon; but do not chuſe to be made the ſubject of it:" whether he uſed this expreſſion or not, it may ſerve as a leſſon.

He always expreſſed himſelf with majeſty and preciſion, ſtudying in public to ſpeak as well as to act like a ſovereign. When the duke of Anjou was ſetting out on his journey to aſcend the throne of Spain, he ſaid to him, in order to mark the union which would for the future unite the two nations: "Remember there are now no Pyrenees."

Nothing ſurely can ſet his character in a clearer light than the following memorial, written entirely with his own hand *.

"Kings are frequently obliged to do many things contrary to their inclination, and which ſhock the natural humanity of their temper. They ought to take a pleaſure in doing favours, and they are often forced to puniſh, and even to ruin thoſe to whom they naturally wiſh well. The intereſt of the ſtate ſhould hold the firſt place. They muſt force their inclinations: they muſt act in every matter of importance, ſo as to have no cauſe to reproach themſelves with the thought of having been able to do better: but ſome private intereſts prevented me from following this courſe, and engroſſed that attention which I ought to have employed in promoting the grandeur, the happineſs, and the power of the ſtate. There are many circum-

* It was depoſited in the King's library ſome years ago.

ſtances that create uneaſineſs; there are ſome ſo intricate that it is difficult to unravel them. We have confuſed ideas; and while that is the caſe, we may remain long without coming to any determination; but the moment we have formed our reſolution, and are convinced that it is the beſt, we ought to carry it into execution. It is to the obſervance of this maxim that I have frequently owed my ſucceſs in ſeveral of my undertakings. The errors I have committed, and which have given me infinite pain, have been owing to complaiſance, and to a too ready compliance with the advice of others. Nothing is ſo dangerous as weakneſs of every kind. To be able to command others we muſt raiſe ourſelves above them; and after having heard the opinions of all parties, we muſt fix upon that which we judge to be beſt without prejudice or partiality, always careful not to order or execute any thing unworthy of ourſelves, of the character we bear, or of the grandeur of the ſtate. Princes who have good intentions, and ſome knowledge of their own affairs, whether by experience, ſtudy, or intenſe application, find ſo many ways of diſcovering their natural diſpoſition, that they ought to take a particular care of themſelves and of all round them. We ought conſtantly to be on our guard againſt ourſelves, our inclinations, and our natural propenſities. The employment of a king is grand, noble, and agreeable, eſpecially when he finds himſelf able to perform his duty; but it is not exempted from pain, fatigue, and inquietude. Uncertainty ſometimes occaſions deſpair; when, therefore, he has employed a reaſonable time in examining an affair,

affair, he ought to come to a determination, and to purſue the courſe which he thinks moſt adviſable *.

"When he labours for the ſtate, he labours for himſelf; the welfare of the one conſtitutes the glory of the other. When the former is great, happy, and powerful, he who is the cauſe of all theſe advantages is glorious, and of conſequence ought, both on his own account and that of his ſubjects, to enjoy a greater ſhare of all that is moſt pleaſant and agreeable in life. When he has committed an error, he ought to repair it as ſoon as poſſible, and ſhould allow no conſideration to hinder him, not even good-nature itſelf.

"In 1671 there died a man who had the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, being charged with the department of foreign affairs. He was a man of capacity, but not without faults. He filled that important poſt with great ability.

"I was ſome time in conſidering to whom I ſhould commit this weighty charge; and, after mature deliberation, I found that a man who had long ſerved me in the character of an ambaſſador, was moſt likely to fill it with ſucceſs.

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* The abbe Caſtel de St. Pierre, author of ſeveral ſtrange performances, in which there are many things of a philoſophical, but very few of a practical nature, has left behind him ſome political annals, from 1658 to 1739, which are probably ſuppreſſed. He, in ſeveral places, condemns the adminiſtration of Lewis XIV. with great ſeverity, and will not, by any means, allow him the title of Lewis the Great. If by Great he means perfect, this title to be ſure does not belong to him; but from theſe memoirs, written with the hand of that monarch, it appears that he had as good political principles at leaſt as the abbe de St. Pierre.

"I ordered him to return home: all the world approved of my choice, which is not always the caſe. On his return I put him in poſſeſſion of the poſt. I knew him only by report, and by the commiſſions with which I had charged him, and which he had executed with great fidelity; but the employment I had now given him was too great and too extenſive for his narrow capacity. I have not availed myſelf of all the advantages I might have obtained, and this has always been owing to my complaiſance and good-nature. At laſt I was obliged to order him to retire, becauſe all that paſſed thro' his hands, loſt that air of grandeur and importance which ought ever to attend the execution of the orders of a king of France. Had I been ſo wiſe as to have removed him ſooner, I ſhould have prevented many of the misfortunes which afterwards befel me, and ſhould have had no cauſe to reproach myſelf with allowing my indulgence to him to hurt the ſtate. Theſe particulars I have thought proper to mention, in order to confirm the truth of what I advanced above."

This precious and hitherto unknown monument, will ſerve to convince poſterity of the integrity of his heart, and the greatneſs of his ſoul. We may even ſay, that he judges himſelf with too much ſeverity, and that he has no cauſe to reproach himſelf with regard to Mr. de Pompone, ſince the great ſervices and reputation of that miniſter determined the prince's choice, which was likewiſe confirmed by the general approbation of the public; and if he condemns himſelf for his choice of Mr. de Pompone, who at leaſt had the happineſs to

ſerve

ſerve during a glorius period, what ought he to ſay with regard to Mr. de Chamillard, whoſe miniſtry was ſo unfortunate and ſo univerſally condemned?

He had written ſeveral memoirs in this ſtile, either with a view of keeping an account of his own conduct, or for the inſtruction of the dauphin duke of Burgundy. Theſe reflexions ſucceeded the events: he would have attained nearer to perfection, to which his merit intitled him to aſpire, had he been able to form to himſelf a philoſophy ſuperior to the politics and prejudices of the times. Philoſophy which in the ſpace of ſo many centuries, we have ſeen practiſed by ſo few ſovereigns, and which kings are very excuſable for not underſtanding, ſince it is underſtood by ſo few private men.

The following are a few of the many inſtructions which Lewis XIV. gave to his grandſon Phillip V. when he was ſetting out on his journey for Spain. He wrote them in haſte, and with a negligence that diſcovers the ſoul much better than a ſtudied diſcourſe. We behold in them the father and the king.

"Love the Spaniards, and all your ſubjects who are attached to your crown and perſon. Don't prefer thoſe that flatter you moſt; eſteem ſuch as, for the public good, will run the riſk of diſpleaſing you: theſe are your true friends.

"Promote the happineſs of your ſubjects; and with this view never undertake a war until you are forced to it, and until you have fully weighed and examined the reaſons for and againſt it in your council.

"Endeavour to lower your taxes: take care of the Indies, and of your fleets; give

great attention to commerce, and live in a perfect union with France, nothing being so advantageous for both kingdoms as this union, which no power can resist *.

"If you are obliged to make war, put yourself at the head of your army.

"Endeavour to re-establish your troops upon their former footing in all your dominions, and begin with those of Flanders.

"Never neglect business for pleasure; but form to yourself a kind of plan which will allow you proper times for amusements and diversion.

"Of these there are hardly any more innocent than hunting, and the pleasures of a country-house, provided you are not too expensive in your decorations.

"Give great attention to business when any one talks to you on that subject; hear much at first, without making any decision.

"When once you have acquired more knowledge, remember that it is your province to decide; but whatever experience you may have, be always sure to hear the opinions and reasonings of your counsel before you come to a decision.

"Exert your utmost sagacity and penetration, in order to find men of the greatest abilities, that so you may properly employ them.

"Take care that your viceroys and governors be always Spaniards.

"Treat every body well; never say a disagreeable thing to any one; but distinguish people of quality and merit.

"Shew the grateful sense you have of the kindness of the late king, and of all those who

* He was greatly mistaken in this conjecture.

have

have concurred in chuſing you for his ſucceſſor.

"Place great confidence in cardinal Porto-Carrero, and let him know how much you are pleaſed with the conduct he has purſued.

"I think you ought to do ſomething conſiderable for the amdaſſador who had the happineſs to invite you into the kingdom, and to ſalute you firſt in the quality of a ſubject.

"Do not forget Bedmar, who is a man of merit, and is capable of ſerving you.

"Place an unreſerved confidence in the duke of Harcourt: he is a man of capacity and of honour, and will never give you any advice but what is for your intereſt.

"Keep all the French in order.

"Uſe your domeſtics well; but never admit them into too great a degree of familiarity, and far leſs of confidence. Employ them as long as they behave well; but ſend them back on the leaſt fault they commit; and never ſupport them againſt the Spaniards.

"Have no intercourſe with the queen dowager, but ſuch as you cannot diſpenſe with. See that ſhe quit Madrid; but let her not go out of Spain. Wherever ſhe is, obſerve her conduct, and never allow her to interfere in any affairs of ſtate. Suſpect the fidelity of thoſe who have too much intercourſe with her.

"Always love your relations: remember the pain it coſt them to part with you: preſerve a conſtant intercourſe with them, as well in ſmall as in great things. Aſk from us freely whatever you either want or deſire to have, that is not to be found in your own country, and we will uſe the ſame freedom with you.

"Never

"Never forget that you are a Frenchman, nor what may poſſibly befal you. When you have ſecured the ſucceſſion of Spain by children, viſit your kingdoms, go to Naples and Sicily, paſs over to Milan, and come to Flanders*. This will give you an opportunity of paying us a viſit. Mean while viſit Catalonia, Arragon, and other places. See what improvements may be made at Ceuta.

"Throw ſome money to the people when you are in Spain, and eſpecially when you enter Madrid.

"Don't ſeem to be ſhocked at the ſtrange figures you may ſee. Ridicule nothing: every country has its particular manners; and you will ſoon be familiarized to what at firſt may appear moſt ſurpriſing.

"Avoid, as much as poſſible, the granting of favours to thoſe who give you money in order to obtain them. Give with diſcretion and liberality; and never receive any preſents, unleſs they be trifles. If it ſhould ſometimes happen that you are obliged to receive them, be always ſure, in a few days after, to return more conſiderable preſents to thoſe who gave them.

"Have a ſtrong box, in which you may depoſite any thing particuar, and keep the key of it yourſelf.

"I ſhall conclude with one of the moſt important advices I can give you. Do not ſuffer yourſelf to be governed. Be maſter yourſelf. Have

* This circumſtance alone may ſerve to confound the many hiſtorians, who on the faith of ſpurious memoirs written in Holland, have mentioned the pretended treaty, (ſigned by Phillip V. before his depa ture) by which he ceded to his grandfather Flanders and the Milaneſe.

no favourite, nor prime minister. Hear and consult your council; but decide yourself. And God, who hath made you a king, will give you such degrees of light and knowledge as are necessary for you, in proportion to the rectitude of your intentions *."

Lewis XIV. was more remarkable for a just and noble manner of thinking, than for brilliant sallies of wit. Besides, we do not expect that a king should say memorable things, but that he should do them. What is necessary for every man in power is, that he should never suffer any one to leave his presence in a bad humour; but to render himself agreeable to all who approach him. We cannot always do generous actions; but we can always say obliging things. Lewis had acquired this excellent habit. Between him and his court there was a perpetual interchange of all the graces that majesty could shew, without being degraded; and all the arts which eagerness to serve, and solicitude to please, could shew without abasement. In the company of the ladies especially, he discovered a politeness and com-

* The king of Spain profited by these wholsome advices: he was a virtuous prince.

The author of the memoirs of madame de Maintenon, tom v. p. 200, accuses him of having had "a scandalous supper with the princess of Ursino the day after the death of his first wife," and of having intended to marry that lady, whom he loads with the most bitter invectives. It must be observed that the princess of Ursino, who had been maid of honour to the deceased queen, was then in the sixtieth year of her age. These popular reports, which ought to be buried in oblivion, become calumnies that deserve the most severe punishment, when people have the impudence to print them, and endeavour to sully the most respectable names without the least proof.

plaiſance which increaſed that of his courtiers; and with the men he never miſſed an opportunity of ſaying ſuch things as flattered their ſelf-love, at the ſame time that they excited their emulation, and left a deep impreſſion on the mind.

One day the dutches of Burgundy, when ſhe was very young, obſerving an officer at ſupper, who was remarkably diſſagreeable, began to jeſt on his uglineſs with great freedom, and in a very high tone: "I think him, madam," ſaid the king, in a ſtill higher tone, "one of the handſomeſt men in my kingdom; for he is one of the braveſt."

A general officer, a man of blunt addreſs, and who had not poliſhed his manners even in the court of Lewis XIV. had loſt an arm in an engagement, and was making his complaints to the king, who, however, had rewarded him as much as the loſs of an arm could be recompenſed: "I wiſh, ſaid he, I had loſt my other arm likewiſe, that ſo I might never ſerve your majeſty more." I ſhould have been extremely ſorry for that, ſaid the king, both on your account and my own;" and immediately granted him a conſiderable favour. He was ſo far from ſaying diſagreeable things, which in the mouth of a prince are deadly arrows, that he never indulged himſelf, even in the moſt innocent and harmleſs railleries, while private men daily uſe the moſt ſevere and cruel.

He frequently diverted himſelf, and even excelled in thoſe ingenious things called impromptues, and agreeable ſongs; and he ſometimes compoſed, extempore, little paradies on the ſongs moſt in vogue, ſuch as this:

Chez

Chez mon cadet de frére,
Le chancelier Serrant
N'eſt pas trop néceſſaire ;
Et le ſage Boifrant
Eſt celui qui ſait plaire.

There's Phil, my younger brother,
With chancellor Serrant
He ſeldom makes a pother ;
He likes wiſe Boifrant
Much better than the other.

And this other, which he made one day in diſmiſſing the council :

Le conſeil à ſes yeux à beau ſe préſenter ;
Si-tôt qu'il voit ſa chienne, il quitte tout pour elle :
Rien ne peut l'arréter ;
Quand la chaſſe l'appelle.

The council in vain at his elbow appears,
When his bitch comes acroſs, from all buſineſs he'll fly ;
Nought elſe he minds, or ſees, or hears,
When once the hounds are in full cry.

Theſe trifles ſerve at leaſt to ſhew that the charms of wit compoſed one of the pleaſures of his court ; that he partook in theſe pleaſures ; and that he was as capable of living like a private man, as of acting the great monarch on the theatre of the world.

His letter to the archbiſhop of Rheims, concerning the marquis de Barbeſieux, though wrote in a very careleſs ſtile, does more honour to his heart than the moſt ingenious thoughts could have done to his head. He had given this youth the

the poſt of ſecretary at war, which had been formerly poſſeſſed by his father, the marquis de Louvois: but being ſoon diſſatisfied with the conduct of his new ſecretay, he reſolved to correct him, without giving him too great mortification. With this view he applied to his uncle, the archbiſhop of Rheims, and deſired him to adviſe his nephew; and ſhews himſelf a maſter informed of every thing, while he had all the tenderneſs of a father.

"I know, ſays he, what I owe to the memory of M. de Louvois; but if your nephew does not alter his conduct, I ſhall be obliged to do what I ſhall be ſorry for; but there will be a neceſſity for it. He has talents; but does not make a good uſe of them. He ſpends too much time in giving entertainments to the princes, inſtead of minding buſineſs: he neglects the public affairs for his pleaſures. He makes the officers wait too long in his antichamber; he ſpeaks to them with haughtineſs, and even ſometimes with rudeneſs."

This is all that I remember of this letter, which I once ſaw in the original. It plainly ſhews, that Lewis XIV. was not governed by his miniſters, as has been reported; but that he knew how to govern them.

He was fond of praiſes; and it were to be wiſhed that kings were more fond of them, that ſo they might endeavour to deſerve them. But Lewis XIV. did not always ſwallow them, when they were too ſtrong and exceſſive. When our academy, which always gave him an account of the ſubjects it propoſed for prizes, ſhewed him the following, "Which of all the virtues of the king deſerve the preference?" the king bluſhed, and

and would not allow the ſubject to be treated of. He ſuffered, it is true, the prologues of Quinault; but it was in the height of his glory, and at a time when the intoxication of the people was ſome apology for his; Virgil and Horace, from a principle of gratitude, and Ovid, from the moſt contemptible meanneſs of ſpirit, loaded Auguſtus with praiſes far more extravagant, and, if we conſider the proſcriptions, much leſs deſerved.

Had Corneille ſaid to any of the courtiers in cardinal de Richelieu's chamder, "Tell the cardinal that I underſtand poetry better than him," the miniſter would never have forgiven him, and yet this is the very thing that Deſpreaux ſaid openly to his majeſty, in a diſpute that happened about ſome verſes which the king thought good, and Deſpreaux condemned. "He is in the right, ſaid the king; he underſtands the ſubject better than I do."

The duke de Vendôme had in his retinue a perſon called Villiers, one of thoſe men of pleaſure who make a merit of talking with a cynical freedom. He lodged at Verſailles in the duke's apartment: he was commonly called Villiers Vendôme. This man openly condemned the taſte of Lewis XIV. in muſic, in painting, in architecture, in gardening, and in every thing elſe. If the king planted a grove, furniſhed an apartment, or built a fountain, Villiers found it to be ill-contrived, and expreſſed his diſapprobation in very indiſcreet terms. "It is ſtrange, ſaid the king, that Villiers ſhould have choſen my houſe to laugh at every thing I do." Having one day met him in the garden, "Well," ſaid he to him, ſhewing him at the ſame time one of his new per-

performances, "has not that the good fortune to pleaſe you?" "No," ſaid Villiers. "And yet, replied the king, there are ſeveral people who do not diſlike it." "That may be, returned Villiers; every one has his own way of thinking." The king replied, with a ſmile, "It is impoſſible to pleaſe all the world."

One day Lewis XIV. playing at tick-tack, had a doubtful throw. A diſpute aroſe, and the courtiers remained in the moſt profound ſilence. At that inſtant the count de Grammont arrived. "Decide this queſtion," ſaid the king to him. "Sire, ſaid the count, your majeſty is in the wrong." "How, replied the king, can you accuſe me of being in the wrong before you know what the queſtion is?" "Becauſe, ſaid the count, had the matter been in the leaſt doubtful, all theſe gentlemen would have given it for your majeſty."

The duke of Antin diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this age by a ſingular art, not of ſaying flattering things, but of doing them. The king went to paſs a night at Petitbourg, when he found fault with a long alley of trees, which concealed the view of the river. The duke cauſed them to be cut down in the night. Next morning the king was ſurpriſed at not ſeeing the trees with which he had found fault. "It is, replied the duke, becauſe your majeſty found fault with them, that you no longer behold them."

We have elſewhere remarked, that the ſame man obſerving that a pretty large wood at the end of the canal of Fontainbleau diſpleaſed the king, at the minute when his majeſty went to take a walk in it, every thing being ready for the purpoſe, he ordered the trees to be cut down, and

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in a moment they were levelled with the ground. Theſe are the ſtrokes of an ingenious courtier, and not of a flattering ſycophant.

Lewis XIV. has been accuſed of intolerable pride, for ſuffering the baſe of his ſtatue in the Place des Victories to be ſurrounded with ſlaves in fetters: but neither this ſtatue, nor that in the Place de Vendôme, were erected by him. The ſtatue in the Place des Victoires is a monument of the greatneſs of ſoul of the firſt marechal de la Feuillade, and of his gratitude to his royal maſter. He expended on this ſtatue five hundred thouſand livres, amounting nearly to a million of our preſent money; and the city added as much more, to render the place regular. It ſeems equally unjuſt to impute to Lewis XIV. the pride of this ſtatue, and to find nothing but vanity and flattery in the magnanimity of the marechal.

Nothing was talked of but the four ſlaves, tho' they rather repreſent vices ſubdued than nations conquered, duelling aboliſhed, and hereſy deſtroyed; for ſo the inſcriptions import. They likewiſe celebrate the junction of the ſea, and the peace of Nimeguen: they talk of nothing but benefits; and none of the ſlaves has the leaſt reſemblance to the people conquered by Lewis XIV. Beſides, it is an ancient practice among ſculptors to place ſlaves at the feet of the ſtatues of kings. It would be better, indeed, to repreſent there free and happy ſubjects. But to conclude, we ſee ſlaves at the feet of the merciful Henry IV. and of Lewis XIII. at Paris: we ſee them at Livourne under the ſtatue of Ferdinand de Medicis, who never, ſure, enſlaved any nation; and we ſee them at Berlin under the ſtatue

of

of an elector, who repulsed the Swedes, but made no conquests.

The neighbours of France, and even the French themselves, have with great injustice, made Lewis XIV. answerable for this custom. The inscription, *Viro immortali* "to the immortal Man" has been accused of idolatry; as if that impression meant any more than the immortality of his glory. The inscription of Viviani, on his house at Florence, *Ædes à Deo datæ*, "the house given by God," would be still more idolatrous. It is no more, however, than an illusion to the surname, *Dieu-donne*, and to the verse of Virgil, *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*

With regard to the statue in the Place de Vendôme, it was erected by the city. The Latin inscriptions, on the four sides of its base discover a more gross kind of flattery than the statue in the Place des Victoires. We there read, that Lewis XIV. never took arms but with reluctance. To this adulation he solemnly gave the lie on his death bed, by those words, which will be remembered longer than these inscriptions, unknown to him, and produced by the meanness of spirit of some men of letters.

The king had set apart the houses of this square for his publick library. The place was too large: it had at first three sides, which were those of an immense palace. The walls were already built, when the calamities that happened in 1701 obliged the city to build private houses on the ruins of the palace, which was already begun. Thus the Louvre was never finished. Thus the fountain and the obelisk, which Colbert intended to raise opposite to the gate of Perrault, never appeared but in embryo. Thus the beautiful

tiful gate of St. Gervais remained in obſcurity; and moſt of the monuments of Paris fill us only with ſorrow.

The nation wiſhed that Lewis XIV. had preferred his Louvre and his capital to the palace of Verſailles, which the duke dé Crequi called a favourite without merit. Poſterity admires with the moſt grateful remembrance, the great and noble things he did for the public welfare; but our admiration is mixed with cenſure, when we behold all the magnificence and defects that Lewis XIV. has introduced into his houſe in the country.

From all we have ſaid it appears, that Lewis XIV. loved grandeur and glory in every thing. A prince who ſhould perform as great things as Lewis XIV. and yet be modeſt and humble, would be the firſt of kings, and Lewis only the ſecond.

If he repented, on his death-bed, of having undertaken war without juſt reaſon, it muſt be owned that he did not judge by events; for, of all his wars the moſt juſt, and the moſt indiſpenſable, that in * 1701, was the only unfortunate one.

He had by his queen, beſides the Dauphin, two ſons and three daughters, who died in their infancy. His amours were more ſucceſsful. There were only two of his natural children that died in the cradle: eight of them were legitimated, and five of them had children. He had likewiſe by a lady, who lived much

* It was ſo far from being juſt, that it derived its immediate ſource from an open violation of treaties, and his embracing a meaſure which undoubtedly endang red the liberties of Europe.

with

with madame de Monteſpan, a daughter, whom he never acknowledged, and whom he married to a gentleman near Verſailles, of the name of La Queue.

Some people ſuſpected, and not without reaſon, that a certain lady in the abby of Moret was his daughter. She was very brown, and reſembled him in other reſpects *. The king, when he placed her in the convent, gave her a portion of twenty thouſand crowns. The opinion ſhe had of her birth gave her an air of pride, of which the ſuperiors of the convent loudly complained. Madame de Maintenon, in a journey to Fontainbleau, went to the convent of Moret; and, willing to inſpire this nun with more modeſt ſentiments, endeavoured to baniſh the idea that nouriſhed her pride. "Madam, ſaid the nun, the trouble which a lady of your rank takes to come on purpoſe to tell me that I am not the king's daughter, fully convinces me that I am."

This anecdote the nuns of Moret remember to this day.

Such a particularity of circumſtances would be irkſome to a philoſopher; but curioſity, that weakneſs ſo incident to mankind, ceaſes almoſt to be a weakneſs, when it is employed about times and perſonages which attract the attention of poſterity.

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* The author ſaw this lady in company with Mr. de Caumartin, intendant of the finances, who had a right of entering into the inner apartments of the convent.

CHAP.

CHAP CCI.

Of the Interior Government, Commerce, Police, Laws, Military Diſcipline, Marine, &c.

THIS juſtice we owe to perſons of a public character who have done good to the age they have lived in, that we ſhould view the point from which they have ſet out, in order to form a juſt idea of the changes they have produced in their own country. Poſterity is eternally indebted to them for the examples they have given, even though theſe are ſurpaſſed. This juſt glory is their only recompenſe. It is certain that the love of ſuch glory animated Lewis XIV. when beginning to govern by himſelf, he had reſolved to reform his kingdom, embelliſh his court, and perfect the arts.

He not only impoſed it as a law upon himſelf, to labour regularly with each of his miniſters, but every man that was but known might obtain a particular audience of him, and all citizens had a liberty of preſenting their requeſts and projects; the petitions were received at firſt by a maſter of requeſts, who marked them on the margin, and they were afterwards ſent to the offices of the miniſters. The projects were examined in council, when they deſerved it, and their authors were admitted more than once to diſcuſs the points they contained with the miniſters, in preſence of their maſter. Thus we ſee a correſpondence ſubſiſting between the throne and the nation, notwithſtanding abſolute power.

Lewis XIV. formed and accuſtomed himſelf to labour; and this was ſo much the more painful, as it was new to him, and the ſeduction of pleaſures might eaſily diſtract him. He wrote the firſt diſpatches himſelf to his ambaſſadors. The moſt important letters were often afterwards minuted with his own hand, and there was none written in his name which he did not cauſe to be read to him.

Scarcely had Colbert, after the fall of Fouquet, re-eſtabliſhed order in the finances, before the king remitted to his people all the arrears due on the impoſts from 1647 till 1656, and eſpecially three millions of taille or exciſe. The enormous duties were aboliſhed for five hundred thouſand crowns a year. Thus the abbé de Choiſy ſeems either to have been very ill informed, or to be guilty of very great injuſtice, when he ſays, that the public receipt was not diminiſhed; for it is certain that it was leſſened by theſe indulgent remiſſions, and increaſed by good order.

The care of the firſt preſident Bellievre, aſſiſted by the liberalities of the dutches d'Aiguillon, and ſeveral citizens, had eſtabliſhed the general hoſpital. The king augmented it, and cauſed the like edifices to be erected in all the principal towns of the kingdom.

The great roads, till that time impaſſable, were not neglected, and by degrees they have become what they are now, under the reign of Lewis XV. the admiration of foreigners. On whatever ſide you come out of Paris, you travel at preſent from about fifty to ſixty leagues, and in ſome places of the neighbourhood, through cloſe alleys bordered with trees. The roads made

made by the ancient Romans were more durable indeed, but not ſo ſpacious nor ſo beautiful.

Colbert's genius turned chiefly towards commerce, which was but weakly cultivated, and its grand principles were not yet known. The Engliſh, and the Dutch ſtill more, carried on in their own bottoms almoſt the whole traffic of France. The Dutch eſpecially loaded with our merchandiſes in our ports, and diſtributed them all over Europe. The king began, from the year 1662, to exempt his ſubject from an impoſt called the duty of freight, which all the veſſels of foreigners payed; and he granted the French the indulgence of tranſporting their merchandiſe themſelves at leſs expence. It was then that maritime commerce had its birth. The counſil for that department, which at preſent continues, was eſtabliſhed, and in it the king preſided every fifteenth day.

Dunkirk and Marſeilles were declared free ports; and ſoon afterwards this advantage drew the trade of the Levant to Merſailles, and that of the North to Dunkirk.

In 1664 was formed a Weſt-India company, and that of the Eaſt-Indies was eſtabliſhed the ſame year. Before this time France paid tribute for her luxuries to the Dutch. The partiſans of the ancient œconomy, who were timid, ignorant, and had contracted views, declaimed in vain againſt a commerce in which a continual exchange was made of money that would not periſh for effects which do. They did not reflect that theſe merchandiſes of India, which were become neceſſary, would be more dearly

paid for by foreigners. We carry indeed to the Eaſt-Indies more kinds of goods than we bring home from thence; and by that means Europe is empoveriſhed. But theſe kinds come from Peru and Mexico; they are the price of our goods carried to Cadiz, and there remains more of this money in France than the Eaſt Indies abſorb of it.

The king gave more than ſix millions of our preſent currency to the company. He invited rich people to embark in it. The queens, the princes, and all the court, furniſhed two millions of the coin of that time. The ſuperior courts gave twelve hundred thouſand livres, the financiers two millions, the body of merchants ſix hundred and fifty thouſand livres. So that the whole nation ſeconded their king.

This company has always ſubſiſted; for though the Dutch had taken Pondicherry in 1694, and the commerce of the Indies has languiſhed ever ſince, it has recovered in our days new ſtrength: Pondicherry has become a rival to Batavia: and this India company, founded with extreme difficulty by the great Colbert, and re-eſtabliſhed in our days by ſingular revolutions, is now become one of the greateſt reſources of the kingdom. The king likewiſe erected a company of the North, in the year 1669: he lodged funds in it, as he did in that of the Indies. It was then very plain that commerce is no diſgrace to any, ſince the greateſt houſes intereſted themſelves in theſe eſtabliſhments, after the example of the monarch.

The Weſt India company was no leſs encouraged than the others. The king furniſhed the tenth part of all the funds.

He granted thirty francs per ton for exportation, and forty for importation. All thoſe who had veſſels built in the ports of the kingdom, received five livres for each ton they contained.

Yet one cannot forbear being very much ſurpriſed, that Abbé Choiſy has cenſured theſe eſtabliſhments, in his memoirs, which muſt not be read without ſome diffidence *. We are ſenſible in our days of all that the miniſter Colbert did for the benefit of the kingdom; but at that time we were entirely ignorant of it: he worked for ungrateful people. They were much more diſguſted with him at Paris for the ſupreſſion of certain rents on the town-houſe, purchaſed at a cheap rate ſince the year 1656, and for the diſcredit into which the notes of the king's privy treaſury fell, that were ſquandered under the preceding miniſter, than they were ſenſible of the general good which he did. In this affair were concerned more burgeſſes than good citizens. Few people had an eye to the public advantage. It is well known what a faſcinating power intereſt has upon the

* The Abbé Caſtel de St. Pierre expreſſes himſelf thus, p. 105, of his manuſcript entitled *Annales Politiques*. "Colbert, the great pains-taker, by neglecting the companies of maritime commerce, that he might employ the more care about the curious ſciences and fine arts, took the ſhadow for the ſubſtance." But Colbert was ſo far from neglecting maritime commerce, that it was he alone who eſtabliſhed it. No miniſter ever took leſs the ſhadow for the ſubſtance than he did.

This note was written in Auguſt 1756.

eyes, and how it contracts the mind: I do not mean this only concerning the intereſt of a ſingle trader, but that of a company, and even a town. The clowniſh anſwer of a merchant called Hazon, (who upon being conſulted by this miniſter, told him, "you have found the carriage overſet on one ſide, and have overturned it on the other.") was ſtill obſequiouſly quoted in my young days: and this anecdote is to be met with in Moreri. The philoſophic ſpirit introduced very late into France, reformed the prejudices of the people ſo as to make them at length do entire juſtice to the memory of this great man. He had the ſame exactneſs as the duke of Sully; but withall, he had views which were much more extenſive. The one was acquainted only with œconomy, but the other knew how to form grand eſtabliſhments.

Almoſt every thing was either repaired or created in his time. The reduction of intereſt on the twentieth denier, on the loans given to the king, and particular perſons, was a ſenſible proof of an abundant circulation in the year 1665. His meaning was, both to enrich and people France. Marriages in the country were encouraged by an exemption from the taille during the ſpace of five years, for ſuch as would ſettle themſelves at the age of twenty; and every father of a family who had ten children, was exempted all his life-time, becauſe he gave more to the ſtate by the labour of theſe, than he could poſſibly have done in paying the taille. This regulation ought to have continued for ever unrepealed.

From

From 1663 till 1672, each year of this miniſtry was diſtinguiſhed by the eſtabliſhment of ſome manufacture or other. The fine cloths, which before had been brought from England and Holland, were fabricated in Abbeville. The king advanced to the manufacterer, for each working loom, two thouſand livres, beſides conſiderable gratifications. In the year 1669, about forty-four thouſand and two hundred woolen looms were reckoned to be in the kingdom. The ſilk manufactures, when brought to perfection, produced a commerce of above fifty millions currency of that time: and the advantage drawn from theſe was not only very much above the prime coſt of the ſilk neceſſary in their fabrication, but the cultivating of mulberry-trees put the manufacterurs into a condition of diſpenſing with foreign ſilk for the woof of their ſtuffs.

From the year 1666 they began to make as fine glaſſes as at Venice, which city had always before furniſhed the whole conſumption thro'-out Europe; and they ſoon made pieces of this kind, which, for largeneſs and beauty, could never be imitated in any other place. The carpets of Turky and Perſia were ſurpaſſed at la Savonnerie: the tapeſtry-hangings from Flanders were inferior to thoſe of the Gobelines; which vaſt enclofure was filled at that time with upwards of eight hundred workmen, and of theſe three hundred were lodged in it. The beſt painters had the direction of the work, either from their own deſigns, or thoſe of the ancient maſters of Italy. Beſides the tapeſtry hangings, was made an admirable

kind of Moſaic, and the art of inlaying was carried to its higheſt perfection.

Beſides this fine manufactory of tapeſtry in the Gobelines, another was ſet up at Beauvais. The firſt manufacturer had ſix hundred workmen in this town; and the king made him a preſent of ſixty thouſand livres.

Sixteen hundred young girls were employed in lace-works, and thirty principal workwomen in this way were brought from Venice, and two hundred out of Flanders, who had thirty ſix thouſand livres given them for their encouragement.

The manufactory of the cloths of Sedan, and that of the tapeſtry-hangings of Abuſſon, degenerated and fallen into decay, were re-eſtabliſhed. The rich ſtuffs, in which ſilk is mixed with gold and ſilver, were fabricated at Lyons and Tours, with an induſtry which had not been ſeen before.

It is a thing well known, that the miniſtry purchaſed in England the ſecret of that ingenious machine by which ſtockings are made ten times faſter than with needles. Tin-plates, ſteel, fine delft-ware, and Morocco-leather, which was always brought from abroad, were made in France. But the Calveniſts, who had the ſecret of making tin-plates and ſteel, carried it away with them in the year 1686, and imparted this advantage, with ſeveral others, to foreign nations.

The king every year expended about four hundred thouſand livres upon the different works of taſte which were farbricated in his kingdom, of which he made preſents.

Paris

Paris was then very different from what it is at preſent; for it wanted light, ſecurity, and cleanlineſs. It was neceſſary to make proviſion for the continual cleanſing of the ſtreets, for lighting of them, which is done by means of 5000 lamps burning every night, for paving the city quite through, bui ding two new gates, and repairing the old ones, and cauſing a continual guard on foot and on horſeback to keep watch for the ſecurity of the citizens. The king took the whole upon himſelf, allotting funds for theſe neceſſary expences. In 1667 he created a magiſtrate ſolely for taking care of the police. The greateſt part of the large cities of Europe did not follow theſe examples till a long time after; and none have equalled them: ſo that no city is paved like Paris; and Rome itſelf is not lighted at all.

Every thing began to have ſo great a tendency to perfection, that the ſecond lieutenant of police which Paris had, acquired in that poſt a reputation which ſet him in the rank of thoſe who have done honour to this age: ſuch was the capacity of this man for every thing. He was afterwards in the miniſtry, and he had been a good general. The place of lieutenant of the police was below his birth and merit, yet it gained him a much greater name than the inconſiderable poſt in the miniſtry which he obtained near the end of his days.

Here we ought to obſerve, that Mr. d'Argenſon was by no means the only perſon, of the ancient nobility, who had been in the public magiſtracy. France is almoſt the only country of Europe, where the ancient nobility have

often taken to the long robe. All other nations, merely from the remains of Gothic barbariſm, are ſtill ignorant, that there is dignity in this profeſſion.

The king ſtill carried on the buildings at the Louvre, St. Germain, and Verſailles, from the year 1661. Particular perſons, after his example, erected in Paris a thouſand ſuperb and commodious edifices. Of theſe the number was ſo increaſed, that after the building of the environs of the Palais Royal, and thoſe of St. Sulpice, there were formed in Paris two new towns, very much ſuperior to the old one. It was at this time, that they invented the magnificent conveniency of coaches adorned with glaſſes and hung upon ſprings; ſo that a citizen of Paris could convey himſelf through this large city with more pomp than the firſt Romans diſplayed in their triumphal proceſſions, to the Capitol. This cuſtom was ſoon after received throughout Europe; and being now very common, it is no longer a piece of luxury.

Lewis XIV. had a taſte for architecture, gardening, and ſculpture; and this ſhewed itſelf in all theſe to be great and noble. From the time that the comptroller-general Colbert had, in the year 1664, the direction of the buildings, which is properly the office of the arts, he applied * himſelf to ſecond the ſchemes

* The abbot St. Pierre, in his *Annales Politiques*, page 104 of his manuſcript, ſays, "That theſe things plainly ſhew the number of lazy lubbards, as alſo their taſte for lazineſs, which ſufficiently ſerves to maintain and cheriſh other kinds

ſchemes of his maſter. The firſt neceſſary work was to finiſh the Louvre. Francis Manſard, one of the greateſt architects which France had produced, was fixed upon to conſtruct the vaſt eidifices that were projected. He would not undertake this taſk, unleſs he had liberty given him to rectify whatever ſhould appear to him defective in the execution. This diffidence of himſelf, which had drawn a train of too much expence after it, was the reaſon for excluding him. The chevalier Bernini was therefore ſent for from Rome, an artiſt whoſe name was famous on account of the colonnade which ſurrounds the portal of St. Peter's church, the equeſtrian ſtatue of Conſtantine, and the Navonne fountain. Equipages were furniſhed him for his journey. He was conducted to Paris as a man who came to do honour to France. He received beſides five lewis-d'ors a-day, for the eight months that he ſtaid there, a preſent of fifty thouſand crowns, with a penſion of two thouſand more, and one of five hundred for his ſon.

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kinds of droniſh fellows; and yet this is the condition of the Italian nation at preſent, where theſe arts are carried to an high degree of perfection; for they are beggars, lazy, heavy, vain poltroons, occupied about impertinences, &c.

Theſe rude reflections, wrote in language equally rude, are void of juſtice. The time in which the Italians ſucceeded beſt in theſe arts was under the Medicis, while Venice was in its moſt warlike and opulent ſtate: then it was that Italy produced great warriors and illuſtrious artiſts of all kinds. And it was alſo in the flouriſhing years of Lewis XIV. that the arts have been carried to the greateſt perfection. The abbot St. Pierre has miſtaken a great number of things, and has given grounds for regretting, that reaſon has not always ſeconded his good intentions.

This generosity of Lewis XIV. to Bernini, was much greater than the munificence of Francis I. to Raphael. Bernini, by way of acknowledgment, made since that time at Rome the equestrian statue of the king, which is to be seen at Versailles. But when he came to Paris with so much parade, as the only person worthy of being employed by Lewis XIV. he was very much surprised to see the design of the front of the Louvre on the side of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois, which soon after, when compleated, became one of the most august monuments of architecture in the world. Claude Perrault had given this design, which was executed by Lewis le Vau and d'Orbay. He invented the machines with which the stones of fifty-two feet in length were raised, that form the pediment of this majestic edifice. Sometimes there is fetched from afar what is to be met with at hand among ourselves. No palace of Rome has an entrance comparable to that of the Louvre, for which we are indebted to this Perrault *, whom Boilleau has attempted to render ridiculous. Travellers allow that the most celebrated villas of Italy are not superior to the castle of Maisons, which Francis Mansard had built at so little expence. Bernini was magnificiently recompensed, but did not deserve it; he only gave designs which were not executed.

* Claude Perrault was a member of the Royal Academy at Paris, and bred a physician, though he did not practise that art. He made some noble designs in architecture, and was allowed to be a man of genius by all the world but Boilleau, who, from private pique, has satirized both him and his brother Charles; a want of candour in Boilleau, which greatly detracts from the merit of his genious.

The

The king, when the works at the Louvre were carrying on, the completing of which was ſo much deſired; when making a town at Verſailles, near this palace, which has coſt ſo many millions; when building Trianon and Marli, and ordering ſo many other edifices to be embelliſhed, cauſed the obſervatory to be erected, which was begun in 1666, after the time that he eſtabliſhed the academy of ſciences. But the moſt glorious monument for its utility, grandeur, and the difficulties encountred in the execution, was the canal of Languedoc, which joins the two ſeas, and falls into the port of Cette, conſtructed for the receiving of its waters. Theſe works were begun in the year 1664; and continued without interruption till 1681. The founding of the hoſpital of invalids, and the chapel of that ſtructure, the fineſt in Paris, the eſtabliſhment of St. Cyr, the laſt of ſo great a number of works conſtructed by this monarch, are alone ſufficient to render his name revered. Four* thouſand ſoldiers, and a great number of officers, who find in one of theſe grand aſylums comfort in their old age, and relief for their wounds and wants; two hundred and fifty daughters of noblemen, who receive an education worthy of them in the other, are ſo many voices that celebrate the praiſes of Lewis XIV. The eſtabliſhment of St. Cyr will be ſurpaſſed by that which Lewis XV. has juſt formed for the education of five hundred gentlemen; but far from cauſing St. Cyr to be forgot, it makes it to be remembered. This

* The abbot de St. Pierre cenſures that eſtabliſhment which almoſt every nation has followed.

is the art of doing good, brought to perfection.

Lewis XIV. was at the ſame time deſirous to perform greater things, and thoſe of a more general utility, but more difficult in the execution; and that was to reform the laws. In this he employed the labours of the chancellor Seguiere, Lamoignon, Talons, Bignons, and more eſpecially the chancellor of ſtate, Puſſort. He himſelf ſometimes aſſiſted at their aſſemblies. The year 1697 was at the ſame time the epocha of his firſt laws, and firſt conqueſts. The civil ordonnance appeared firſt; next the code of the waters and foreſts; then the ſtatutes for all the maufactures; the criminal ordonnance; the code of commerce, and that of the marine. All theſe followed nearly one year after another. There was likewiſe a new juriſprudence eſtabliſhed in favour of the negroes of our colonies, a ſort of men who had not yet enjoyed the privileges of humanity.

A profound knowledge of the civil law is not to be acquired by a ſovereign. But the king was acquainted with the principal laws; he poſſeſſed the ſpirit of them, and knew how, either to maintain or mitigate them properly. He often decided the cauſes of his ſubjects, not only in the councils of the ſecretaries of ſtate, but in that called the *Conceil des parties.* There are two celebrated determinations of his, in which he decided againſt himſelf.

In the firſt, which was given in 1680, the caſe was in a proceſs between him and certain inhabitants of Paris, who had built upon his ground. He decided, that the houſes ſhould remain

remain to them, with the land belonging to himſelf, and which he ceeded to them.

The other related to a Perſian merchant, called Roupli, whoſe goods had been ſeized by the commiſſaries of his farms, in the year 1687. His deciſion was, that all ſhould be reſtored to him, and the king added a preſent of three thouſand crowns. Roupli carried his admiration and gratitude with him into his own country; and when Mehemet Rizabeg was afterwards at Paris, we found him acquainted with this fact by common report.

The abolition of duels was one of the greateſt ſervices which he did to his country. Theſe combats had been formerly authoriſed even by the parliment, and by the church; and though they had been prohibited from the time of Henry IV. yet this fatal cuſtom prevailed more than ever. The famous combat of the la Frettes, four againſt four, in 1663, was that which determined Lewis XIV. not to pardon it any longer. His happy ſeverity corrected, by degrees, our own nation, and even the neighbouring nations, who conformed themſelves to our wiſe cuſtoms, after having adopted our bad ones. There are in Europe an hundred times fewer duels at this day, than in the time of Lewis XIII.

He was the legiſlator both of his people and of his armies. It was ſtrange, that, before his time, uniforms among the troops was a thing not known. It was he, who in the firſt year of his adminiſtration, ordered, that each regiment ſhould be diſtinguiſhed, either by the colour of their clothes, or by different marks;

marks; a regulation which was adopted ſoon after by all nations. It was he * alſo who inſtituted Brigadiers, and put the corps, of which the houſhould troops of the king are formed, upon the footing they are on at preſent. He formed a company of muſqueteers out of the guards of cardinal Mazarine, and fixed at five hundred men, the number of the two companies, to which he gave the cloathing they ſtill retain.

Under him were made no conſtables, and, after the death of the duke d'Epernon, no colonel-generals of the infantry; thoſe were become too much maſters; this he would have himſelf to be, and ſo he ought. Marſhal Gramont, who was only camp-maſter of the French guards, under the duke d'Epernon, and took orders from that colonel-general, for the future took them only from the king, and was the firſt who had the title of colonel of the Guards. He himſelf inſtalled thoſe colonels at the head of their regiments, by giving them, with his own hands, a gilt gorget and pike, and afterwards a ſpontoon, or a kind of half pike, when the uſe of the former weapon was aboliſhed. He inſtituted the grenadiers, at firſt to the number of four in each company of the king's regiment, which is of his own creation; afterwards he formed a company of grenadiers in each regiment of foot; he gave two companies of them to the French guards, which at

* The abbot de St. Pierre, in his annals, ſpeaks only of this inſtitution of brigadiers, and forgets all that Lewis XIV. did for the military diſcipline.

preſent

preſent have three. He very much augmented the corps of dragoons, and gave them a colonel-general. We muſt not forget the eſtabliſhment of ſtuds for breeding horſes, in the year 1667, which had been abſolutely ſet aſide before that time, and were afterwards a great reſource for remounting the cavalry.

The uſe of the bayonet at the end of the gun is an inſtitution of the king's. Before his time it was uſed occaſionally, and ſome companies only had this weapon; there was no uniform uſage nor exerciſe with it: all was left to the general's diſcretion. The pike was looked upon as the moſt formidable weapon. The firſt regiment which had bayonets, and was trained to this exerciſe, was that of the fuſiliers, eſtabliſhed in the year 1671.

The manner in which the artillery is managed at preſent is entirely owing to him. He founded ſchools for this purpoſe at Douay, afterwards at Metz and Straſburgh; and the regiment of artillery was at length filled with officers, almoſt all of them capable of conducting a ſiege. All the magazines of the kingdom were ſtored, and every year furniſhed with eight hundred thouſand weight of powder. He formed a regiment of bombardiers, and one of huſſars, a kind of horſemen which, before his time, were known only among our enemies.

In 1688, he eſtabliſhed thirty regiments of militia, furniſhed and equipped by the communities of the kingdom. Theſe corps of militia, exerciſed themſelves in war, without neglecting the cultivation of the lands.

Companies of cadets were entertained in moſt parts of the frontiers: there they learned the

the mathematics, deſigning, and all the exercciſes, and did alſo the duty of ſoldiers. This inſtitution laſted ten years. At length they were tired of theſe youths, as it was too difficult a matter to diſcipline them; but the corps of engineers, which the king formed, and to which he gave the regulations ſtill followed by them, is an eſtabliſhment that will laſt for ever. Under him the art of fortification was carried to perfection by marſhall Vauban * and his pupils, who ſurpaſſed count Pagan. He conſtructed or repaired an hundred and fifty fortified places.

In order to maintain the military diſcipline, he created inſpectors-general, afterwards directors, who gave an account of the ſtate of the troops; and from their reports it was ſeen, whether the commiſſaries of war had done their duty.

He inſtituted the order of St. Lewis, an honourable recompenſe, often courted more than fortune. The hotel of invalids crowned the cares which he took for meriting to be well ſerved.

It was owing to ſuch cares as theſe, that, from the year 1672, he had an hundred and fourſcore thouſand regular troops; and that by augmenting his forces in proportion as the number and power of his enemies increaſed, he had at length to the amount of four hundred and

* Anthony le Prêtre, chevalier count de Vauban, is ſo well known as the greateſt engineer of his time (if Coehorn does not conteſt that preheminence) that we need not dwell upon the particulars of his character.

fifty

fifty thouſand men in arms, including the troops of the marine.

Before his time, no ſuch ſtrong armies had been ſeen. His enemies hardly oppoſed to him any of equal force; tho' there was a neceſſity for a cloſe union among them. He ſhewed what France alone could do; and he had always either great ſucceſs or great reſources.

He was the firſt, who, in time of peace, gave a perfect idea and complete leſſon of war. In 1698 he aſſembled at Compeigne ſeventy thouſand men, where he performed all the operations of a campaign; and this was in order to inſtruct his three grandſons. But this military academy became a ſchool of luxury.

The ſame attention which he ſhewed in forming of numerous and well diſciplined land-armies, even before he was engaged in any war, he likewiſe exerted in acquiring the empire of the ſea. Firſt, the few veſſels which cardinal Mazarin had ſuffered to rot in the harbours, are repaired; ſome others are bought in Holland and Sweden; and after the third year of his government, he ſends his maritime forces to make an attempt at Gigeri, on the coaſt of Africa. The duke of Beaufort clears the ſea of pirates, in the year 1665, and two years after France has in its ports ſixty ſhips of war.

This is only a beginning. But, whilſt new regulations and new efforts are making, he already feels all his force. He was unwilling to conſent that his ſhips ſhould ſtrike their flag to that of England. The council of king Charles II. in vain inſiſted upon this right, which force,

force, induſtry, and time, had given to the Engliſh. Lewis XIV. writes thus, to the count d'Eſtrade, his ambaſſador: "The king of England and his chancellor may ſee what my forces are; but they do not ſee my heart. I regard my honour more than all other things."

He ſaid no more than what he was reſolved to maintain; and, in fact, the uſurpation of the Engliſh gave way to natural right, and the firmneſs of Lewis XIV. Every thing was equal between theſe two nations at ſea. But, while he would have an equality kept up with England, he maintains his ſuperiority over Spain. He obliges the Spaniſh admirals to ſtrike to his flag, by virtue of the ſolemn precedency agreed upon in 1662.

Pains however are uſed on all ſides for the eſtabliſhment of a marine capable of juſtifying thoſe high ſentiments. The town and port of Rochefort are built at the mouth of the Charente. Saillors are enroled and ranked by claſſes, who are to ſerve at one time in merchantſhips, and at another in the royal navy. And ſoon there are found to be ſixty thouſand of theſe actually regiſtered.

Councils of conſtruction are eſtabliſhed in the ports, for giving of veſſels the moſt commodious form. Five marine arſenals are built at Breſt, Rochefort, Toulon, Dunkirk, and Havre de Grace. In 1672 there are ſixty ſhips of the line, and forty frigates. In the year 1681, an hundred and eighty ſhips of war, including the tenders, and thirty galleys, are in the harbour of Toulon, either equipped or ready

ready to be ſo. Eleven thouſand regular troops ſerve on board the ſhips; and the galleys have three thouſand. There are an hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand men regiſtered by claſſes, for all the different ſervices of the marine. The following years there were reckoned to be in the ſervice a thouſand gentlemen, doing the duty of ſoldiers on board the ſhips, and learning in the ports whatever might qualify them for the art of navigation, and the working of a ſhip: theſe are the marine guards: they were upon ſea what the cadets were upon land; and were inſtituted in the year 1672, but in ſmall numbers. This corps has been the ſchool which has produced the beſt officers for the ſervice of the navy.

There had not been yet marſhals of France in the corps of the marine; and this evinces, how this eſſential part of the forces of France had been neglected. John d'Eſtree was the firſt marſhal, in 1681. It appears, that one of the great objects of attention in Lewis XIV. was to inſpire all ranks with that emulation, without which every thing languiſhes.

In all the naval fights in which the French fleets were engaged, the advantage was always on their ſide, till the battle of la Hogue, in 1692, when the count de Tourville, following the orders of the court, attacked with forty-four ſail a fleet of ninety Engliſh and Dutch ſhips: there was no ſtanding againſt numbers; fourteen capital ſhips, of the firſt rate, were loſt; which, being run aground, were burnt, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the enemy. Notwithſtanding this defeat, the maritime forces ſup-

ſupported themſelves; but they declined in the following war. They did not begin to be well re-eſtabliſhed till 1751, during an happy peace, the only proper time for eſtabliſhing a good marine, for the accompliſhment of which there is neither leiſure nor power while a war laſts.

Theſe naval forces were of uſe to protect commerce. The colonies of Martinico, St. Domingo, and Canada, before in a languiſhing condition, now flouriſhed: not indeed to ſuch a height of proſperity as we ſee them now arrived at, but with an advantage which till then had not been hoped for; for, from the year 1635 to 1665, theſe colonies had been a certain burthen to the ſtate.

In 1664 the king ſent a colony to Cayenne, and ſoon after another to Madagaſcar. He tries all methods for repairing the loſs and misfortune which France had laboured under for a long time by neglecting the ſea, whilſt her neighbours had erected empires for themſelves at the extremities of the earth.

From this general view, we ſee what change Lewis XIV. introduced into the ſtate; changes indeed advantages, as they ſtill ſubſiſt. His miniſters had an emulation among themſelves, who ſhould ſecond him beſt. The whole detail, the whole execution, is undoubtedly owing to them, but the general diſpoſition to him. It is certain that the magiſtrates would not have reformed the laws; the finances would not have been put again in order: diſcipline introduced into the armies; general police into the kingdom; that there would have been no fleets; the arts would not have been encouraged: and all this

this in concert, and at the ſame time, with perſeverance, and under different miniſters, if there had not been found a maſter who had in general all theſe grand views, with a will determined to accompliſh them.

He did not ſeparate his own glory from the advantage of France, nor look upon the kingdom with the ſame eye as a lord does upon his lands, from which he draws all he can, that he may live luxurioufly. Every king who loves glory, loves the public good. He had no longer Colbert and Louvois when, towards the year 1698, he ordered, with a view to the inſtruction of the duke of Burgundy, that each intendant ſhould give a circumſtantial deſcription of his reſpective province; by which means an exact account might be obtained of the kingdom, and the true number of its inhabitants aſcertained. The work was uſeful, though all the attendants had not the capacity and attention of Mr. de Lamoignon de Baville. Had the views of the king been ſo fully anſwered, with regard to each province, as they had been by this magiſtrate in the enumeration of the people of Languedoc, this collection of memoirs would have been one of the fineſt monuments of the age. Some of them are well done; but a plan was wanting by which all the intendants were to be ſubjected to the ſame order. It had been a thing much to be deſired, that each had given in columns a ſtate of the number of inhabitants in every province, alſo that of the nobles, citizens, labourers, artificers, works of art, the beaſts of every ſort, the good, midling, and bad lands, the whole clergy, regular and ſecular,

lar, their revenues, with thoſe of the towns and companies.

All theſe objects are confounded in the greateſt part of the memoirs which have been given; the matters in them are not canvaſſed thoroughly, and are done with little exactneſs. You are often obliged to ſeek with pain for the proper lights you want; and which a miniſter ought to find ready under his hand, and catch up by a ſingle glance, that he may eaſily diſcover the ſeveral forces, wants, and reſources contained therein. The project was excellent, and an uniform execution of it would have been of the greateſt utility.

This then in general is what Lewis XIV. did and attempted, that he might render his own nation more flouriſhing. It ſeems to me, that one cannot behold all theſe labours and all theſe efforts without ſome acknowledgment, and being animated with the love of the public good, which inſpired them. Let us but repreſent to ourſelves what the ſtate of the kingdom was in the days of the Fronde, and what it is at preſent. Lewis XIV. did more good to his own nation than twenty of his predeceſſors put together, and yet it falls infinitely ſhort of what might have been done. The war, which was ended by the peace of Ryſwick, began the ruin of that commerce which his miniſter Colbert had eſtabliſhed, and the ſucceeding war completed it.

Had he employed for the embelliſhing of Paris and finiſhing the Louvre, thoſe immenſe ſums expended on the aqueducts, and the works of Maintenon for conveying of water to Verſailles, works indeed interrupted and become uſeleſs; had he laid out at Paris the fifth

part

part of what that coſt, in order to force nature at Verſailles, Paris would be throughout its whole extent as beautiful as it is on the ſide of the Tuilleries and the Pont-royal, and would have been the moſt magnificent city in the world.

It is a great deal to have reformed the laws; but chicane could not be cruſhed by juſtice. The government once thought of making juriſprudence uniform: it is ſo already in criminal affairs, in thoſe of commerce, and the forms of proceſs; it might be ſo likewiſe in the laws which regulate the fortunes of the ſubject. It is a great inconvenience, that the ſame tribunal has more than an hundred different cuſtoms to give deciſions upon. The duties ariſing from lands, either equivocal, or burthenſome to ſociety, ſtill continue, as the remains of the feudal government, which itſelf ſubſiſts no longer. Theſe are the remains of a Gothic building, now no more.

Not that it is pretended theſe different orders of the ſtate ought to be ſubjected to the ſame law. For one is very ſenſible that the uſages of the nobleſſe, the clergy, the magiſtrates, and thoſe who cultivate the earth, ſhould be different. But it is undoubtedly to be wiſhed for, that each order ſhould have its uniform law throughout the kingdom, that what is juſt and true in Champagne may not be looked upon as falſe in Normandy. Uniformity in all ſorts of adminiſtrations is a virtue; but the difficulties of this great work have ſcared people from attempting it.

Lewis XIV. might have more eaſily diſpenſed with the dangerous reſource of the farmers of

the taxes, to which he was compelled by the conſtant anticipation of the receipt of his revenues, as may be ſeen in the chapter of the finances.

Had he not believed that he was ſufficiently able, merely by his own authority, to oblige a million of men to change their religion, France had not loſt ſo many ſubjects. This country *, however, notwithſtanding its various ſhocks and loſſes, is at preſent the moſt † flouriſhing on the face of the earth, becauſe all the good which Lewis XIV. did is ſtill ſubſiſting, and the evil, which it was difficult for him to avoid in turbulent times, has been repaid. In fine, poſterity, who paſſes judgment on kings, and whoſe judgment theſe ought always to have before their eyes, will allow, upon weighing the virtues and foibles of this monarch, that, tho' he had been too much praiſed in his life-time, he deſerved to be ſo for ever; and that he was worthy of the ſtatue erected to him at Montpelier, with the Latin inſcription to this effect: "To Lewis the Great, after his death."

All the changes which we have juſt now ſeen pointed out in the government, and in all the orders of the ſtate, muſt neceſſarily have produced a very conſiderable one in the manners of the people. The ſpirit of faction, fury, and rebellion, which poſſeſſed the nation from the time of Francis II. became a ſpirit of emulation for ſerving the prince. The lords, who poſſeſſed great eſtates, being no longer cantoned upon them, the governors of provinces having no more poſts

* See the Chapter of Calviniſm.

† This is an aſſertion to which no Britiſh ſubject will ſubſcribe.

of

of honour to beſtow, each individual ſtudied to deſerve no other favours than thoſe of the ſovereign; and the ſtate became one regular whole, every line of which terminated in the center.

This was what delivered the court from factions and conſpiracies, which had always troubled the ſtate during a courſe of ſo many years. Under the adminiſtration of Lewis XIV. there was but one plot, in 1674, which was contrived by la Truamont, a gentleman of Normandy ruined by debauchery and debt: he was joined by one of the houſe of Rohan, who, by a like conduct, had been reduced to the ſame indigent circumſtances. In this plot were concerned only the chevalier de Preaux, nephew to la Truamont, who, ſeduced by his uncle, alſo ſeduced his miſtreſs, madam de Villiers. Their aim and hopes neither were, nor could be, to form a party in the kingdom. They only intended to ſell and deliver up Quillebeuf to the Dutch, and introduce the enemy into Normandy. This was rather a baſe treaſon ill-planned than a conſpiracy. The puniſhment of all the criminals was the only event which this mad and fruitleſs affair produced, of which there is hardly at preſent any remembrance left.

If there were any ſeditions in the provinces, theſe were only feeble tumults of the people, which were eaſily repreſſed. Even the Hugenots were always quiet, till the time that their churches were demoliſhed. At length the king ſucceeded ſo far as to make, out of a nation till then turbulent, a peaceable people, who were dangerous only to the enemy, after having been

ſo to themſelves for above an hundred years. Their manners were ſoftened, without hurting their courage.

In the houſes which the nobility built, or bought in Paris, their ladies lived with dignity, and formed ſchools of politeneſs, which drew by degrees the young people from a life ſpent at the taverns, which had been the prevailing mode for a long time before, and only ſerved to inſpire thoſe who frequented them with an inſolent debauchery. Manners depend on ſuch trifles, that the cuſtom of riding on horſeback in Paris kept up a diſpoſition for quarrels, which ceaſed as ſoon as this uſage was aboliſhed. Decorum, for which we are principally obliged to the fair ſex, who aſſembled company at their houſes, rendered converſation more agreeable, and, by reading, came in time to be more ſolid. Treaſons and great crimes, which do not diſgrace manking in times of faction and confuſion, were hardly known any longer. The villainies of Brinvilliers and Voiſins were only tranſitory ſtorms, under a ſky otherwiſe ſerene: and it would be equally unreaſonable to condemn a whole nation on account of the glaring crimes of ſome individuals, as to canonize it on account of the reformation of La Trappe.

All the different ſtates of life were, in former times, eaſily known by the faults which characterized them. Thoſe of a military turn, and the young people who deſigned themſelves for the profeſſion of arms, had an over haſty vivacity; thoſe belonging to the courts of juſtice, a ſtern, forbidding gravity; to which the

the cuſtom of going always in a long robe, even to court, did not a little contribute. And it was the ſame caſe with regard to the univerſities, and to phyſicians. Merchants ſtill wore little robes whenever they met together, and when they went to wait on the miniſters; alſo the moſt conſiderable tradeſmen were at that time perſons of ruſtic manners. But the houſes, the theatres, and the public walks, in which they began to meet together, in order to enjoy the pleaſure of a ſocial life, gradually rendered the exterior appearance of all theſe people nearly alike. One may ſee at this day, even in tradeſmen's ſhops, that politeneſs has gained ground upon all ranks. The provinces have in time alſo felt the effects of theſe changes.

At length people no longer place luxury in any thing but taſte and convenience. The croud of pages and ſervants in livery has diſappeared, to make way for more freedom in the houſes of the great; vain pomp and outward pride have been left to thoſe nations, among whom the people ſtill know no more than to ſhew themſelves in public, and who are ignorant of the art of living.

The extreme eaſineſs introduced into the intercourſe of the world, affability, ſimplicity, and the cultivation of the mind, have rendered Paris a city, which for the conveniences of life enjoyed there, probably very much ſurpaſſes Rome and Athens in the height of their ſplendor.

That great number of helps always ready, always open for the whole circle of the ſciences,

all the arts, particular taſtes and wants, ſo many ſolid advantages uniting with ſuch a number of agreeable things, joined to that openneſs peculiar to the inhabitants of Paris; all theſe together induce vaſt numbers of ſtrangers to travel, or take up their reſidence, in this ſocial city. If ſome natives quit it, they are either ſuch as being called elſewhere on account of their talents, are an honourable teſtimony to their country, or elſe the refuge of the nation, who try to make their advantage of the conſideration it has acquired.

Complaints are made, that no longer is to be ſeen at court ſo much grandeur and dignity as formerly: the truth is, that there are no petty tyrants, as in the days of the Fronde, and under the reign of Lewis XIII. and in the preceding ages. But true greatneſs is now to be met with in thoſe crowds of nobility, who were formerly debaſed for ſo long a time by ſerving ſubjects grown too powerful. There are ſeen gentlemen, and alſo citizens, who would have thought themſelves honoured in former days to be the domeſtics of theſe lords, become now their equals, and very often their ſuperiors in the military ſervice: and the more this ſervice prevails over title, the more flouriſhing is any ſtate.

The age of Lewis XIV. has been compared to that of Auguſtus. Not that the power and perſonal events in both can be compared: for Rome and Auguſtus were ten times more conſiderable in the world than Lewis XIV. and Paris. But we muſt call to mind that Athens was equal to the Roman empire in all things which do not derive their value from force and power.

power. We muſt further conſider, that if there is nothing at preſent in the world like ancient Rome and Auguſtus, yet all Europe together is much ſuperior to the whole Roman empire. In the time of Auguſtus there was but one nation, and at this day there are ſeveral who are well regulated, warlike, and enlightened, who are poſſeſſed of arts which the Greeks and Romans were utter ſtrangers to: and among theſe nations there are none which has been more illuſtrious for its renown in every kind for about an age paſt than that formed in ſome meaſure by Lewis XIV.

CHAP. CCII.

Of the FINANCES.

IF we compare the adminiſtration of Colbert with all the preceding ones, poſterity will be fond of this man, whoſe body the frantic populace after his death would have torn to pieces. The French certainly owe to him their induſtry and their commerce; and conſequently that wealth, the ſources of which are ſometimes diminiſhed in war, but are always opened again with an abundant flow in peace. Yet in 1702 people had ſtill the ingratitude to throw the blame upon Colbert, for the langour which began to be perceivable in the ſinews of the ſtate. A financier of Normandy publiſhed about that time an account of the revenues of France, in two ſmall volumes, in which he pretends that every thing was in a declining ſtate

from the year 1660. But ſo far from this being the caſe, it was quite the reverſe. France had never been ſo flouriſhing as ſince the death of cardinal Mazarin, down to the war of 1689: and even in that war, the body of the ſtate, tho' beginning to be out of order, ſupported itſelf by means of the vigour which Colbert had diffuſed through all its members. The author of this detail pretended, that from 1660, the lands of the kingdom had diminiſhed in value fifteen hundred millions. But nothing was more falſe, nor leſs probable. Theſe captious arguments, however, perſuaded ſuch as would be perſuaded to believe this ridiculous paradox.

It was eaſier in France than in any other country to decry the miniſtry of the finances in the minds of the people. This miniſtry is the moſt odious, becauſe the impoſts are always ſo: beſides, there prevailed in general as much prejudice and ignorance in the finances, as there did in philoſphy.

It was ſo long before people received better information, that even in our days we find in 1718 the parliament in a body telling the duke of Orleans, "that the intrinſic value of the ſilver mark is twenty five livres:" as if there was any other real intrinſic value than that of the weight and the ſtandard: and the duke of Orleans, with all his penetration in other reſpects, had not enough of it in this to remove that miſtake of the parliament.

It is true Colbert had not done all that he could, and ſtill leſs than he would have done. Men were not then ſufficiently enlightened; and in a great kingdom there are always great abuſes. The arbitrary taille, the multiplicity of

of duties, the different cuſtoms of the provinces, which makes one part of the inhabitants of France ſtrangers and even enemies to the other; the little reſemblance there is between the meaſures of one town and thoſe of another; with twenty other maladies of the body politic, could not be remedied.

Colbert, in order to furniſh at once the expence of the war, for buildings, and pleaſures, was obliged to re-eſtabliſh towards the year 1672 what at firſt he intended to have aboliſhed for ever; namely, impoſts on places, rents, new offices, and the augmentation of ſalaries: in ſhort, that which ſupports the ſtate for ſome time but involves it in debt for many years.

He was carried beyond his intended meaſures; for by all the inſtructions remaining of his, we ſee he was perſwaded that the riches of a country conſiſt only in the number of its inhabitants, the cultivation of the lands, the induſtry of the people, and commerce. We ſee, that the king, poſſeſſing very few domains, and being only the adminiſtrator of the goods of his ſubjects, cannot indeed be rich but by impoſts eaſy to bear and equally aſſeſſed.

He feared ſo much giving up the ſtate to the farmers of the king's revenue, that ſome time after the diſſolution of the chamber of juſtice, which he had cauſed to be erected againſt them, he got an arret of council paſſed, which made it death for thoſe who ſhould advance money upon the new impoſts. His meaning by this menacing arret, which was never printed, was to cure the avidity of undertakers. But ſoon after he was obliged to make uſe of them, without even revoking the arret:

for the king was preſſing, and there was a neceſſity to find prompt means to ſatisfy him.

This invention, brought from Italy into France by Cathrine of Medicis, had ſo much corrupted the government, by the facility with which it procured ſupplies, that after having been ſupreſſed in the glorious days of Henry IV. it appeared again throughout the reign of Lewis XIII. and greatly infected the latter times of Lewis XIV.

Six years after the death of Colbert, in 1689, France was precipitated into a war, which ſhe was obliged to maintain againſt all Europe, without having any funds in reſerve. The miniſter le Pelletier believed that it would be ſufficient to diminiſh luxury. An ordonnance was accordingly made, that all the moveables of ſolid plate, which were to be ſeen at that time in pretty conſiderable quanties in the houſes of the great, and were a proof of opulence, ſhould be carried to the mint. The king ſet the example: he parted with all thoſe ſilver tables, branched chandeliers, grand canopy-couches of maſſive ſilver, and all the other moveables, which were maſter-pieces, chaſed by the hand of Bailin, the greateſt artiſt in his way, and all done from deſigns of le Brun. They had coſt ten millions, but produced only three. The wrought plate belonging to private perſons yielded three millions more. The reſource was inconſiderable.

Towards the years 1691 and 1692, the finances of the ſtate appeared ſenſibly out of order. Thoſe who attributed the dimunition of the public revenue to the profuſion of Lewis XIV. upon his buildings, the arts, and his plea-

pleaſures, were not aware, that on the contrary the expences which encourage induſtry enrich a ſtate. It is war that neceſſarily impoveriſhes the public treaſury, unleſs the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed can fill it again. Since the time of the ancient Romans, I know of no nation that has enriched itſelf by victories. Italy, in the Sixteenth century, was rich only by commerce. Holland would not have ſubſiſted long had ſhe confined herſelf to the taking the plate fleet of the Spaniards, and were not the Eaſt Indies the ſupport of her power. England has always impoveriſhed herſelf by war, even in deſtroying the French fleets *: and commerce alone has maintained her. The Algerines, who have hardly any more than what they gain by pyracy, are moſt miſerably poor.

Among the nations of Europe, war, at the end of ſome years, renders the conqueror nearly as unhappy as the conquered. It is a gulph in which all the ſtreams of abundance are abſorbed. Ready money, that principle of all good and all evil, raiſed with ſuch difficulty in the provinces, terminates in the coffers of an hundred ſtock-jobbers and farmers of the revenue, who advance the ſums wanting by the ſtate, and who buy by virtue of theſe advances, the right of pillaging the nation in the name of the ſovereign. The people, in conſequence of this, looking on the government as their enemy,

* If the French are turbulent, and encroach upon their neighbours, it would ſeem that deſtroying the means by which their inſolence is moſt likely to be exerted with effect, namely, their fleet, will in the end enrich rather than impoveriſh the Engliſh nation.

conceal their wealth; and the want of circulation brings a languor on the kingdom.

No ſudden remedy can ſupply a fixed and permanent eſtabliſhment of long ſtanding, which provides at a diſtance againſt any unforeſeen wants. The capitation * was eſtabliſhed in 1695. It was ſuppreſſed at the peace of Ryſwick, and re-eſtabliſhed afterwards. The comptroller-general Pontchartrain ſold patents of nobility for two thouſand crowns, in 1696: five hundred perſons bought them. But the reſource was tranſitory, and the ſhame permanent. The nobles, both ancient and modern, were obliged to regiſter their coats of arms, and to pay for the permiſſion of ſealing their letters with them. The farmers bargained for this tax, and advanced the money: ſo that the miniſtry had hardly ever recourſe to any but petty reſources, in a country which could have furniſhed much greater.

They durſt not impoſe the tenth penny till 1710. But this tenth penny, raiſed after ſo many other burthenſome taxes, appeared ſo hard that they durſt not exact it with rigour. The government did not draw from it twenty-five millions a-year, at forty franks to the mark.

Colbert had made few attempts to change the nominal value of money. But it is better

* In Vol. IV. p. 136, of Maintenon's Memoris, we find that the capitation "Brought in beyond the hopes of the farmers." But there has never been any farm of the capitation. It is ſaid, that "The lacqueys of Paris went to the town houſe to beg that they might be put into the capitation." This ridiculous ſtory deſtroys itſelf; for maſters always payed for their domeſtics.

not

not to change it at all. Silver and gold, thoſe ſtandards of exchange, ought to be invariable. He raiſed the nominal value of the ſilver mark, which was twenty-ſix franks in his time, only to twenty-ſeven and twenty-eight; and after his death, in the laſt years of Lewis XIV. this denomination was extended as far as forty imaginary livres: a fatal reſource, by which the king was relieved for a moment, in order to be ruined afterwards; for inſtead of a ſilver mark, he had only given him little more than the half of it. He who owed twenty-ſix livres in 1668, gave a mark; and he who owed forty livres, gave little more than this ſame mark in 1710. The diminutions which followed diſconcerted the little commerce that remained, as much as the raiſing had done.

A real reſource might have been found in paper-credit; but this ought to be eſtabliſhed in a time of proſperity, that it may maintain itſelf in times that are otherwiſe.

The miniſter Chamillard, began in 1706 to pay in bank-notes, notes of ſubſiſtence, and free quarters: but as this paper money was not received into the king's coffers, it was deſtroyed almoſt as ſoon as it appeared. The government was reduced to the neceſſity of continuing to borrow heavy loans, and uſe by anticipation four years of the revenues of the crown.

We are told, in the hiſtory written by la Hode, and put under the name of la Martiniere, that it coſt ſeventy-two per cent for exchange in the wars of Italy, which is an abſurdity. The matter of fact is this, that M. de Chamillard, in order to pay the armies, made uſe

of

of the credit of the chevalier Bernard. This miniſter believed, through an old prejudice, that money muſt not go out of the kingdom, as if ſuch money were given for nothing, and as if it were poſſible that one nation indebted to another, and which does not diſcharge itſelf by mercantile effects, ought not to pay in ready money. This miniſter gave the banker eight per cent. in the profits, upon condition that foreigners were paid without making the money go out of France. Beſides this, he paid the exchange, which amounted to five or ſix per cent. loſs: yet the banker, notwithſtanding his promiſe, was obliged to pay his accounts with the foreigners in money; and this produced a conſiderable loſs.

The comptroller-general, Deſmarets, nephew to the celebrated Colbert, having ſucceeded Chamillard in 1708, could not cure an evil which every thing rendered incurable.

Nature conſpired with fortune to diſtreſs the ſtate. The ſevere winter of 1709, obliged the king to remit to the people nine millions of taxes at the time when he had not wherewithal to pay his ſoldiers. The ſcarcity of proviſions was ſo exceſſive, that it coſt forty-five millions for proviſions to the army; and the king's ordinary revenue ſcarce produced forty-nine. The expences of this year 1709, amounted to two hundred and twenty-one millions. There was then a neceſſity for ruining the ſtate, that the enemy might not make themſelves maſters of it. The diſorder grew to ſuch a head, and was ſo little repaired, that for a long time after the peace, at the beginning of the year 1715, the king was obliged to cauſe thirty-two millions of notes

notes to be negociated, in order to have eight millions in ſpecie. In ſhort, at his death, he left a debt of two thouſand ſix hundred millions, reckoning twenty-eight livres to the mark, the rate to which the coin was then reduced: and this makes about four thouſand five hundred millions * of our current money in 1750.

It is aſtoniſhing, but true, that this immenſe debt would not have been a burthen impoſſible to bear, had there been at that time a flouriſhing commerce in France, a paper credit eſtabliſhed, and ſubſtantial companies, which would have anſwered this credit, as is the caſe in Sweden, England, Venice, and Holland: for when a powerful ſtate is indebted only within itſelf, credit and circulation are ſufficient to make payments. But a great deal was wanting for France to have at that time a ſufficient number of ſprings to ſet a-going ſo vaſt and complicated a machine, the weight of which cruſhed it.

Lewis XIV. in his reign expended eighteen thouſand millions; which amounts, one year with another, to three hundred and thirty millions of the preſent currency, by compenſating interchangeably with each other, the nominal raiſings and lowerings of the coin.

Under the adminiſtration of the great Colbert, the ordinary revenues of the crown roſe only to an hundred and ſeventeen millions, at twenty-ſeven livres, and afterwards twenty-eight livres to the ſilver mark. Thus the whole ſurplus was always furniſhed by extraordinary methods. Colbert was obliged, for example, to raiſe

* Four thouſand millions, amounting to above one hundred and eighty millions ſterling.

four

four hundred millions in ſix years time, in the war of 1672. The king had but very few ancient domains of the crown left. Theſe are declared unalienable by all the parliaments of the kingdom; and yet almoſt all of them are alienated. The king's revenue conſiſts at preſent in the wealth of his ſubjects, and is a perpetual circulation of debts and payments. His majeſty owes the people more nominal millions a year, under the name of annuities of the town-houſe, than any king ever drew from the domains of the crown.

In order to form an idea of this prodigious increaſe of taxes, debts, riches, circulation, and at the ſame time the embarraſſments and trouble which have been experienced in France and other countries, it is to be conſidered, that at the death of Francis I. the ſtate owed about thirty millions of livres to the town houſe, and that at preſent it owes upwards of forty-five millions a year.

Thoſe who have compared the revenues of Lewis XIV. with thoſe of Lewis XV. have found, by only keeping to the fixed and current revenue, that Lewis XIV. was by much richer in 1683, at the time of Colbert's death, with an hundred and ſeventeen millions of revenue, than his ſucceſſor was in 1730, with nearly two hundred millions; and this will appear, by conſidering only the fixed and ordinary revenues of the crown. For an hundred and ſeventeen nominal millions, with the mark at twenty-eight livres, are a much greater ſum than two hundred millions at forty-nine livres, which was the amount of the king's revenue in 1730: and moreover, we muſt reckon

reckon the charges increaſed by the loans of the crown. But the revenues of the king, that is, of the ſtate, have ſince been accumulated; and the knowledge of the finances has been brought to ſuch a ſtate of perfection, that in the ruinous war of 1741, there was no ſtagnation of credit. We have begun to form funds of mortgages, as among the Engliſh: it was neceſſary to adopt a part of their ſyſtem of finances, as we have done of their philoſophy: and if in a ſtate purely monarchial, theſe circulating notes could be introduced, which at leaſt double the wealth of England, the adminiſtration of France would acquire its laſt degree of perfection *.

In 1683, there were about five hundred nominal millions of ſilver coin in the kingdom; and about twelve hundred of the preſent currency. But the denomination in our days is almoſt double what it was in Colbert's time. It therefore appears, that France is only about one ſixth part richer in circulating ſpecie, ſince the death of that miniſter. It is much more ſo in materials of ſilver and gold worked and uſed for ſervice and luxury. In 1690 it had not however four hundred millions of our preſent coin; and at this day we have as much as there is circulating ſpecie. Nothing ſhews more plainly, how commerce, the ſources of which Colbert opened, has been increaſed,

* The abbot de St. Piere, in his Journal Politique, on the article Syſtem, ſays, that in England and Holland there are no more notes than ſpecie: but it is certain that the former greatly exceed the latter, and do not ſubſiſt but by credit.

when

when a free courſe has been given to its channels, that were ſhut cloſe by the wars. Induſtry has been brought to perfection, notwithſtanding the emigration of ſo many artiſts, which the revoking of the edict of Nantz has diſperſed: and this induſtry ſtill encreaſes every day. The nation is capable of as great things and even ſtill greater, than it was under Lewis XIV. becauſe genius and commerce always gain new ſtrength wherever they are encouraged.

To ſee the affluence of individuals, the number of agreeable houſes built in Paris and in the provinces, the multitude of equipages, the conveniences and refinements of luxury, you would think that our opulence is twenty times greater than it was formerly. All this is the fruit of ingenious labour rather than of riches. At this day it coſts but little more for an agreeable lodging, than it did for a bad one in the reign of Henry IV. A beautiful ſort of glaſs of our own manufacture adorns our houſes, at a much leſs expence than the little glaſſes which were brought from Venice: our fine and ſhowy ſtuffs are cheaper than thoſe which we brought from foreign countries, and which were not of equal worth with them. In effect, it is not ſilver and gold that procure a commodious life, but genius. A people poſſeſſed only of theſe metals would be miſerable: whereas, on the other hand, a people without theſe metals, but who can happily employ all the productions of the earth, would be the truly wealthy people. France had this advantage, with a great deal more ſpecie than is neceſſary for circulation.

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Induſtry being brought to perfection in the towns, grew up and increaſed in the country. There always will be complaints raiſed about the condition of the labourers of the ground: you hear them in all countries of the world; and ſuch murmurings are generally produced from indolent people of fortune, who condemn the government more than they bemoan the people. It is true that in almoſt every country, if ſuch as paſs their days in rural labours had leiſure to murmur, they would riſe up againſt the exactions which take from them a part of their ſubſtance. They would deteſt the neceſſity of paying ſuch taxes as they had not laid upon themſelves, and of bearing the burthen of the ſtate without participating of the advantages enjoyed by other citizens. It does not belong to the province of hiſtory to examine how the people may be taxed without being oppreſſed, and to mark the preciſe point ſo difficult to be found out between the execution of the laws and the abuſe of them; between impoſt and rapine. But hiſtory ought to ſhew, that it is impoſſible for a town to be flouriſhing, unleſs the country round it enjoys plenty; for certainly the produce of its fields ſupports their inhabitants. We hear on particular days, in all the towns of France, the reproaches of thoſe who by their profeſſion are allowed to declaim in public againſt all the different branches of conſumption to which the name of luxury is given. It is evident that the nouriſhment for this luxury is furniſhed no otherwiſe than by the induſtrious labour of the tillers of the ground: a labour which is always dearly paid for.

More vineyards have been planted, and better cultivated. New wines have been made, that were not known before, like thoſe of Champaign, the makers of which have been well acquainted with the methods of giving them the colour, flavour, and ſtrength of the Burgundy wines, and which they vend among foreigners to a great advantage. This increaſe of wines has produced that of brandies. The cultivation of gardens, of pulſe, and fruit, hath received a prodigious improvement; and the commerce in proviſions with the colonies of America has from thence been augmented. The loud complaints which have been made in all times about the miſery of the country, have now ceaſed to have any foundation. Beſides, in theſe vague complaints there is no diſtinction made between the planters, the farmers, and the mechanics. Theſe laſt live only by the labour of their hands; and the caſe is alike in all the countries of the world, where the bulk of the people, or the greater number, ſhould ſubſiſt by that means: but there is ſcarcely a kingdom in the univerſe in which the planter and the farmer are more at eaſe than in France; and England alone may diſpute this advantage with it. The proportional land-tax, inſtead of that ſubſtituted at diſcretion, has ſtill contributed for about thirty years paſt to render more ſtable the fortunes of ſuch huſbandmen as have ploughs, vineyards, and gardens. The handy-craftſman, or workman, muſt be reſtrained to neceſſaries for labour: ſuch is the nature of man. For though the greateſt part of mankind ſhould be poor, there is no neceſſity for their being miſerable.

The

The midling ſort have enriched themſelves by induſtry. The miniſters and the courtiers are leſs wealthy, becauſe money having been raiſed nominally near half its value, their appointments and penſions have continued the ſame; and the prices of goods has roſe more than half. This is what has happened in all the countries of Europe. The ſeveral dues and fees have every where remained on the ancient footing. An elector of the empire, who receives the inveſtiture of his ſtates, pays no more than what his predeceſſors paid in the time of the emperor Charles IV. in the fourteenth century: and in this ceremony there is only a crown due to the emperor's ſecretary.

What is much ſtranger is, that tho' all things have been raiſed, the nominal value of coin, the quantity of materials in gold and ſilver, and the price of merchant goods, yet the pay of a ſoldier has continued at the ſame rate it was two hundred years ago. A foot ſoldier has five nominal ſous, the ſame as he had in the time of Henry IV. None among the great number of ignorant men who ſell their lives at ſo cheap a rate, know, that ſince the over-rating of the ſpecie, and the dearneſs of merchandiſe, he receives about two thirds leſs than the ſoldiers of Henry IV. did. If he knew it, and demanded a pay two thirds greater, it muſt have been granted him. From thence it muſt happen, that as the powers of Europe would keep on foot two-thirds fewer troops, their forces would be ballanced in the ſame proportion; the cultivation of the ground and the manufactures would profit by this meaſure.

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We muſt farther obſerve, that the profits of commerce, being augmented, and the appointments for all the great offices diminiſhed in their real value, there is found to be leſs wealth among the great than formerly, and more among the midling rank of people: and this circumſtance has put men more upon a level. In former days there was no reſource for the little but to ſerve the great. At preſent induſtry has opened a thouſand ways, which were not known an hundred years ago. In ſhort, in whatever manner the finances of the ſtate may be adminiſtered France poſſeſſes in the labour of twenty millions of inhabitants an ineſtimable treaſure.

CHAP. CCIII.

Of the SCIENCES.

THIS happy age, which has ſeen a revolution produced in the human mind, did not ſeem deſtined to it. To begin with philoſophy, there was no appearance in the time of Lewis XIII. that it ſhould have emerged out of the chaos into which it was plunged. The inquiſition of Italy, Spain and Portugal, had linked the errors in philoſophy to the tenets of religion: the civil wars in France, and the diſputes of Calvaniſm were not more adapted to cultivate human reaſon than was the fanaticiſm of Cromwell's time in England. Tho' a canon of Thorn renewed the ancient planetary ſyſtem of the Caldeans, which had been exploded for ſo long a time, this truth was con-

condemned at Rome; and the congregation of the holy office, compoſed of ſeven cardinals, having declared not only heretical but abſurd the motion of the earth, without which there is no true aſtronomy, (the great Galilæo having aſked pardon at the age of ſeventy for being in the right,) there was no appearance that the truth would be received in the world.

Chancellor Bacon had ſhewn, but at a diſtance, the tract which might be followed. Galilæo had made ſome diſcoveries on the deſcent of bodies; Torricelli began to aſcertain the gravity of the air which ſurrounds us; and ſome experiments had been made at Magdeburg. Notwithſtanding theſe eſſays, all the ſchools continued in abſurdity, and the world in ignorance. Then appeared Deſcartes; he did the contrary of what ought to have been done; inſtead of ſtudying nature, he wanted to gueſs at her. He was the greateſt geometrician of his age; but geometry leaves the mind as ſhe finds it. That of Deſcartes was too much addicted to invention. The prince of mathematicians made ſcarcely any more than romances of philoſophy. A man who ſcorned experiments, never cited Galilæo, and was for building without materials, could erect no more than an imaginary edifice.

That which was romantic in it ſucceeded; and the few truths, mixed with theſe new chimeras, were at firſt conteſted; but at laſt theſe few truths broke out by the help of the method which he himſelf introduced. For before his time there was no thread for this labyrinth; and at leaſt he gave one, of which an uſe was made after he had bewildered himſelf. It was a great deal to deſtroy the chimeras of Perripateticiſm.

ticiſm, tho' by means of other chimeras. Theſe two phantoms combated each other. They fell ſucceſſively; and reaſon raiſed itſelf at length upon their ruins. There was at Florence an academy for experiments, under the name del Cimento, eſtabliſhed by cardinal Leopold de Medicis, about the year 1655. They were already aware in this country of the arts, that it was not poſſible to comprehend any thing about the grand fabric of nature, but by examining her minutely. This academy, after the days of Galilæo, and from the time of Torricelli, performed ſignal ſervices.

Some philoſophers in England, under the gloomy adminiſtration of Cromwell, met together for the diſcovery of truth, at a time when it was oppreſſed by the ſeverity of enthuſiaſm. Charles II. being called home to the throne of his anceſtors, by the repentance and inconſtancy of his own nation, gave letters patent to this infant and riſing academy; but this was all that the government gave. The royal ſociety, or rather the free ſociety of London, laboured to promote uſeful knowledge. It was from this illuſtrious body, that in our days proceeded the diſcoveries on light, the principle of gravitation, the motion of the fixed ſtars, and an hundred other inventions, which in that reſpect might give occaſion to the calling of this age, the age of the Engliſh as well as that of Lewis XIV.

In 1666 Colbert, jealous of this new kind of glory, was deſirous that the French ſhould partake of it; and, at the entreaty of ſome learned men, prevailed on Lews XIV. to condeſcend to the eſtabliſhment of the academy

of Sciences. It was free till 1699, like that of England and the French academy. Colbert drew from Italy, Dominico Caſſini *, and Huygens from Holland, by means of large penſions. They diſcovered the ſatellites and ring of Saturn. The world is indebted to Huygens for pendulum-clocks. By degrees knowledge was acquired in all the parts of true phyſics, by rejecting ſyſtems. The public was ſurpriſed to ſee a chemiſtry, in which reſearches were made neither for the grand ſecret nor for the art of prolonging life beyond the bounds of nature; an aſtronomy which did not predict the events of the world; and a medicine independent of the phaſes of the moon. Putrefaction was no longer the parent of animals and plants. There were no more prodigies, from the time that nature came to be better known; for ſhe was ſtudied in all her works.

Geography received aſtoniſhing improvements. No ſooner had Lewis XIV. built the obſervatory, than he cauſed a degree of the meridian to be meaſured in 1669, by Dominic Caſſini, and Picart; which was continued towards the

* John Dominico Caſſini was one of the moſt able aſtronomers that ever Italy produced. He flouriſhed in the ſeventeenth century, and in his youth was appointed profeſſor of aſtronomy at Bologna: but he was invited into France by Colbert to be member of the Royal Academy of Sciences; and there he ſpent the remaining part of his life, which was happily extended to extreme old age. He explained the nature and revolutions of comets: he diſcovered that the planet Mars revolved upon its own axis, in twenty-four hours, and forty minutes: he diſcerned the ſpots on the body of Venus: he demonſtrated that Saturn had five ſatellites, inſtead of one, which was all that Huygens had diſcerned; and he meaſured a degree of the meridian in the ſouth of France.

North in 1683, by la Hire; and at laſt Caſſini prolonged it in 1700, as far as the extremity of Rouſſillon. This is the fineſt monumemt of aſtronomy, and is ſufficient to eternize this age.

In 1672, natural philoſophers were ſent to Cayenne, in order to make uſeful obſervations. This voyage gave riſe to the diſcovery of a new law of nature, which the great Newton has demonſtrated, and has paved the way for thoſe more famous voyages which have ſince given a luſtre to the reign of Lewis XV.

In 1700, Tournefort was ſent to the Levant, to collect there the plants neceſſary to enrich the royal garden, which was formerly neglected, but at that time was reſtored to its due honour, and is now become worthy of the curioſity of Europe. The royal library, already well ſtocked, was enriched under Lewis XIV. with upwards of thirty thouſand volumes; and this example is ſo well followed in our days, that it contains at this time more than an hundred and eighty thouſand. He cauſed the law-ſchool to be opened, which had been ſhut for an hundred years paſt. He eſtabliſhed in all the univerſities of France a profeſſor of the French law. One would imagine that there ſhould be no other here, and that the good Roman laws incorporated with thoſe of the country, ſhould form but one body of the laws of the nation.

Under him literary journals were eſtabliſhed. 'Tis well known, that the journal des Scavans, which begun in 1665, is the firſt of all the works of this kind with which Europe is at this day filled and into which too many abuſes have crept, as commonly happens in things of the greateſt utility.

The academy of the belles lettres, compoſed at firſt, in 1663, of ſome members of the French academy, for tranſmitting to poſterity, by medals, the actions of Lewis XIV. became uſeful to the public, from the time that it was no longer ſolely employed about the monarch, and that they applied themſelves to reſearches into antiquity, and a judicious criticiſm upon opinions and facts. It produced nearly the ſame effect in hiſtory, as the academy of ſciences did in natural philoſophy: it diſpelled errors.

The ſpirit of diſcernment and criticiſm, which encreaſed by degrees, inſenſibly deſtroyed ſuperſtition. It is to this dawn of reaſon that we owe the declaration of the king in 1672, which forbids the tribunals to admit ſimple accuſations of ſorcery. This was a matter which durſt not be attempted under Henry IV. and Lewis XIII. And if, ſince 1672, there have been accuſations of enchantment, the judges have not condemned the perſons accuſed, excepting where profanation of religion, or the uſe of poiſon, was proved againſt them *. It

* In 1609 ſix hundred ſorcerers were condemned in the juriſdiction of the parliment of Bourdeaux, and moſt of them burnt. Nicholas Remi, in his Demonolatri, gives an account of nine hundred arrets, paſſed in fifteen years againſt ſorcerers in Lorrain only. The famous curate, Lewis Guaffredi, burnt at Aix in 1611, had publicly owned that he was a ſorcerer, and the judges believed him.

It is ſhameful that father le Brun, in his treatiſe of Superſtitious Practiſes, ſtill admits of the deciſion of doubtful matters by caſting lots. He even goes ſo far as to ſay, page 524, that the parliment of Paris acknowleged it; but he is miſtaken: the parliment indeed owned that there were profanations and enchantments, but

It was formerly very common, to try ſorcerers by plunging them in water, being firſt bound with cords; and if they floated on the ſurface, they were convicted. Several judges in the provinces had ordered ſuch tryals to be made, and theſe methods ſtill continued for a long time among the people. Every ſhepherd was a ſorcerer; and amulets and ſtudded rings were uſed in the towns. The effects of a hazel-wand, with which it was believed that ſprings, treaſures, and thieves, could be found out, were looked upon as certain; and have ſtill a great deal of credit given them in more than one province of Germany. There was hardly any body but who had his nativity caſt; and nothing was talked of but magical ſecrets. All ranks were infected with the deluſion. Learned men and magiſtrates had writ ſeriouſly upon theſe matters. A ſet of authors was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Dæmonographi. There were rules for diſcerning true magicians, and true demoniacs, from the falſe. In fine even to our time, there was hardly any thing adopted from antiquity but errors in every kind. Superſtitious notions were ſo rooted among men, that people were frighted by a comet in 1680; and ſcarce any one dared to combat this popular fear. James Bernoulli, one of the greateſt mathematicians in Europe, in his anſwer to thoſe who maintained the ominous nature of comets, ſays, that its head cannot be a ſign of the divine

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no ſupernatural effects produced by the devil. The book of don Calmet *Sur les wampires & ſur les apparitions*, has been looked upon as the work of a diſordered brain, but it plainly ſhews how much the mind of man is addicted to ſuperſtition.

wrath,

wrath, becauſe that head is eternal; but that the tail may very well be ſo. However, neither the head nor tail are eternal. It was then neceſſary that Bayle ſhould write againſt vulgar prejudices, a book, famous at that time, which the progreſs ſince made by reaſon, has now rendered uſeleſs.

One would not believe that ſovereigns had obligations to philoſophers. It is however true, that this philoſophic ſpirit, which has gained ground among all ranks except the lower claſs of people, has very much contributed to give a due weight to the rights of princes. Diſputes which would have formerly produced excommunications, interdicts, and ſciſms, have cauſed none of theſe things. It has been ſaid, that the people would be happy had they philoſophers for their kings; it is equally true, that kings are the more happy, when many of their ſubjects are philoſophers.

It muſt be allowed, that the reaſonable ſpirit, which begins to preſide over education in the large towns, has not been able to cure the frenzy of the fanatics in the Cevennes, nor prevent the inferior people of Paris ſhewing their folly at the tomb to St. Medard *, nor quiet the diſ-

* Miracles ſaid to be performed at the tomb of the abbé Paris, in the year 1730. As this abbé was a proffeſſed Janſeniſt, the Jeſuits would not allow him to be a ſaint, and found means to intereſt both the clergy and the government againſt his pretenſions to this title. The archbiſhop of Paris publiſhed a mandamus, condemning the new miracles of this beatified Janſeniſt. The life of the abbé, which had been publiſhed at Bruſſels, was pronounced heretical by the holy congregation of the office, and burnt by the hands of the hangman; but the reputation of the defunct

diſputes, as violent as they are frivolous, which ariſe between men who ought to be wiſer. But before this age, ſuch diſputes had cauſed troubles in Europe: the miracles of St. Medard were believed by the moſt conſiderable citizens; and fanaticiſm, which had been confined within the mountains of the Cevennes, diffuſed itſelf into the towns.

All kinds of ſcience and literature were exhauſted in this age; and ſo many writers have extended the powers of the human underſtanding, that thoſe, who at other times would have been thought prodigies, paſs'd undiſtinguiſhed in the croud. Their glory is leſſened on account of their number; but the glory of the age is greatly exalted.

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defunct flouriſhed under this perſecution. His tomb was ſurrounded by crowds of devotees, the lame were cured, the blind were reſtored to ſight; ſo that the catalogue of miracles daily increaſed, until the burying-ground of St. Medard was ſhut up by the king's expreſs arrêt, and then the ſaint being deprived of his retinue, ſunk into oblivion.

END of the EIGHT VOLUME.

ADVERTISEMENT.

VOL. IX. will complete VOLTAIRE's UNIVERSAL HISTORY, including the AGE OF LEWIS XIV. and VOL. X. will begin his DRAMATIC WORKS, which are tranſlated by the Rev. Mr. FRANKLIN.